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THE AMERICAN TEACHER

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In Defense of Public Education

Detroit's "Plain People" Speak Up for Schools

Wisconsin AFL Sponsors Educational Conference

Ridge Community Organizes in Defense of Education

St. Louis Citizens Form Public Education Group

The Teachers Union in Action

449 CAMDEN, N. J.—Repayment of \$70,000 in illegally withheld salary payments affecting 221 Camden teachers has been voted by the local board of education. The sum represents a 10 per cent reduction on all salaries for the school years, 1937-38 and 1938-39, imposed by resolutions of the Camden board after the expiration of the enabling acts of the State Legislature.

The vote to restore the money was unanimous after Acting City Solicitor, John J. Crean, recommended the move, pointing out that the Court of Errors and Appeals had sustained the State Commissioner of Education in finding the resolutions "void and nothing holden."

Meyer L. Sakin, attorney for Malcolm M. Stack and 220 other teachers, had obtained from the State Supreme Court a writ of mandamus directing the Camden Board of Education to make repayment and to pay the costs of the litigation. The teachers agreed to waive their rights to interest on the withheld money and to the costs. They had previously rejected a proposal by Mayor George E. Runner, director of finance, that they agree to return the money to the city treasury. The mayor had previously asserted that "he would rather go to jail than pay the money to the teachers."

The victory of the Camden teachers comes on the heels of similar victories won by a group of union teachers in Trenton. The Paterson local of the AFT won a similar triumph two years ago. In both the Camden and Trenton cases proceedings were initiated by larger groups of teachers, many of whom were induced to withdraw from the struggle by administrative pressure and maneuvering.

* * *

366 CHEYENNE, WYOMING—

The Cheyenne Federation of Teachers is again co-operating with the state teachers association in getting a teachers' retirement law passed in the next legislature which convenes in January. A bill was passed by the House and Senate in the Wyoming legislature in 1939 but was vetoed by Governor Nels Smith on the ground that it was unconstitutional.

The bill to be introduced in the next session will be similar to the one introduced two years ago which provides that the state will match the fund subscribed by each teacher amounting to 2

per cent of his annual salary. A teacher will be eligible for drawing a retirement annuity after twenty years of service. The maximum retirement age is sixty-five. The bill does not cover teachers having a salary of more than \$3,000.

The Cheyenne local has secured the support of the Cheyenne Central Labor Body and the State Federation of Labor for the retirement bill.

Last year the Cheyenne Local was partly instrumental in getting the salary schedule of the local system adjusted to give teachers with dependents and advanced degrees additional pay.

* * *

519 ANDERSON, IND.—The officers of the Anderson Classroom Teachers Council are grateful for the splendid response of the members when solicited by the building representatives for dues to the State Teachers Federation, which the Local voted last spring to join. All but two members came through with their contribution. In addition, eighteen teachers who are not members of the Local paid and so became members of the state group. It is felt that much can be accomplished in legislative matters and in rationalizing the union idea in the minds of teachers of the state through such affiliation.

During the past years Local 519 has learned that it can lean heavily on the strong arm of organized labor and that its support is indispensable. The question of asking for labor representation on the Madison County Tax Adjustment Board was presented from the teacher delegates to the Central Labor Union last summer and received instant support. They decided that the interest of organized labor could best be served by a teacher. Jesse Huntzinger, who is at present an officer of the Labor Council, was selected by them and a committee met with James Edwards, judge of the Superior Court, to request the appointment. The result was a teacher on the tax board.

* * *

562 BOULDER, COLO.—At a recent meeting of the Union members adopted a statement of principles which represented their views regarding the university and national defense. The statement follows:

In our determination to defend America against invasion and conquest, we are all united. Nor can there be about this danger, present or ultimate, apathy or disconcert; we are living in an an-

archic world in which ruthless force is exalted and is equipped with unprecedented material weapons. We, as citizens, participate in the defense of our country. As a University we contribute our special skills and our technical resources to the physical defense of our nation; and our willingness to defend must be total, not partial.

But we are defending our country not merely in a territorial or literal sense. We are defending also our determination to go on using the *democratic methods* of common consultation and consent to try to achieve the *democratic goal* of a common happiness and welfare for all, on a higher level than has ever yet been reached. This is our prime concern, and in this, the University has a peculiar responsibility.

We are a community of individuals. Insofar as we express our individual opinion on national policy, we cannot expect uniformity. Honest patriots may differ regarding the nature and extent of military preparations. Honest democrats may follow various courses; they may support varying degrees of aid to England and to other nations with democratic aims. But whether in local or national policy, we must work from a common view: *OF PRIME IMPORTANCE IN THIS CRISIS IS THE MAINTAINING AND THE STRENGTHENING OF DEMOCRACY AT HOME AND THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.*

We are an educational community. Our contributions to defense will be determined mainly in the field of education. How can we be most useful? President Stearns has said: "Education can best serve the national defense by serving itself and maintaining American schools as free, democratic, truth-seeking institutions." Here, stated tersely, is a policy for us to follow. How in specific actions can we work toward this goal?

If we are to promote and extend democracy, with the weapons at our command, in the fields of our influence, we must, of course, co-operate to the full with national plans. Our University is doing that in its technical and defense courses. It is doing it in the programs of information on the radio and in forums. But how best can we contribute in the field of our greatest influence, the University community? We can do these things:

(1) *We can promote intelligent inquiry.* Attitudes of critical thinking, of calm discussion, of honest searching, are no mean contribution. In our classes,

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GEORGE T. GUERNSEY, *Editor*

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AFL Gives Two Organizers to AFT

THE American Federation of Labor has hired two international organizers, John D. Connors and Harry R. Hazel, both members of the AFT, and assigned them to organizing work for the Teachers Union.

John D. Connors is national vice president of the AFT from the New England area. He was one of the organizers and charter members of the New Bedford Teachers Union, Local 263. He helped organize the Massachusetts State Branch of the AFT and served as vice president of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor. At the present time he is a member of the Board of Directors of the New Bedford Consumers Co-operative which he helped organize. He also organized and was first president of the New Bedford Labor School.

Mr. Connors received his degree from Boston University and did graduate work at Harvard University. He has been a teacher in the New Bedford High School for the past fifteen years.

Harry R. Hazel is widely known in Cleveland labor circles. He was president of the Cleveland Teachers Federation in 1921-24. He was the organizer of the Glenville evening school of which he was principal for fifteen years

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and president of the Ohio League of Teachers' Organizations. As chairman of the salary committee of the Cleveland Teachers Union, Local 279, he was instrumental in having salaries restored to 100 per cent. In 1926 he was awarded a life membership in the National Education Association.

Amendment Loses, 9,547 to 8,349

ACCORDING TO a report by the Northwestern Audit Company of Chicago, in the vote on an amendment proposing to "Amend Article IV (Charters) by adding the following new section: 'Section 7. Where there is an existing local in good financial standing with the Federation, no additional charter shall be issued with jurisdiction which is identical with, or which overlaps, the jurisdiction of the existing local without that local's consent,'" there were 9,547 ballots cast against the amendment and 8,349 cast for the amendment. After eliminations on several bases, 122 locals participated in the balloting.

Minnesota AFT Urges Investigation

AT A RECENT meeting of the executive council of the Minnesota State Federation of Teachers, an American Federation of Labor affiliate, a resolution was adopted calling upon the legislature to appropriate funds for a thorough investigation of the state department of education. The council urged the naming of an investigating committee composed of representatives of the Minnesota Educational Association, the American Federation of Teachers, the Parent-Teachers Association, the Council of School Executives and the State School Board Association.

Citing its concurrence in the recommendation of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor that the legislature probe the state board of education, the executive council declared its belief that such an investigation should be an impartial, nonpolitical investigation by groups definitely interested in education.

Teacher Training Mounts— Fewer Jobs Available?

THE FOLLOWING dispatch sent out by a labor press service indicates one of the most important problems facing American education today. The problem in the New York schools which is herein presented is an extreme one but is one which schools throughout the country are facing to a greater or lesser degree. What is happening in New York can happen elsewhere. More studies dealing with this problem on a local or national scene would be of great help to teachers' organizations in formulating a program for coping with this problem.

"New York—metropolis of the Americas—with its 7,380,000 people does not need or want any more school teachers. On the contrary the city schools are oversupplied with teachers in most lines.

"All examinations for licenses to teach in the academic high schools of New York have been postponed indefinitely. Dr. Harold G. Campbell, superintendent of schools, recently announced that if the Board of Education hired more teachers there would be nothing for them to do because of the sharp decrease in the number of high-school pupils.

"Five years ago examinations for elementary-grade licenses were suspended. The eligible lists contain 2,800 names, some of which were placed there as long ago as 1932. When teachers drop out their places are not filled because of the decrease in the number of elementary students.

"In 1936 the city had 1,121,084 pupils—a high mark. The number has fallen every year, standing at 1,069,465 in 1940—about the same as in 1931.

"Specialized courses in vocational schools still need teachers. With this exception, the Board of Education is more likely to discharge than to hire teachers during the next few years.

"Teaching has been one of the boom occupations of the past half century. Only 127,000 men and women were making their living as teachers in 1870. Twenty years later the number had more than doubled (347,000). After another twenty years, in 1910, five times as many persons were teaching as in 1870. The number of teachers in 1930 was 1,125,000, an increase of nearly nine times in sixty years, compared with a population growth that was less than fourfold.

"The better-paid teachers made a comfortable living, enjoyed long vacations and were retired on modest pensions. The entire profession was respectable and white-collared. Decade by decade, more students flocked into teacher-training courses.

"Depression in the 1930's threw the first wet blanket on those who hoped to make their living as teachers. The depression was not taken seriously, however. Teacher-training courses reported 287,000 students in 1934 and 312,000 in 1936.

"School appropriations were cut to the bone in the 1930's. The defense program adopted in 1940 still further curtailed them. The sharp decrease in the number of children meant less demand for teachers—while the number of teachers in training was mounting."

Pittsburgh Teachers Stop Salary Slashes

BY MEANS of a militant and carefully prepared strategy, the Pittsburgh Teachers' Federation, Local 400, has saved 300 teachers in the Pittsburgh schools salary cuts ranging from \$200 to \$800 per year. The Pittsburgh school system is caught between a tax limit fixed by the state legislature and falling revenue from tax collections, necessitating cuts from the budget.

Disregarding the advice of tax experts for better means of collection of taxes and the Strayer Survey Commission for economies in maintenance and upkeep, the superintendent has been attempting to slash salaries. Superintendent Ben G. Graham called the heads of the Teachers Association into his office early in December, told them his intention to cut the salaries of a group of 300 teachers who, a number of years ago, had received raises "on merit," and asked the Association to poll the teachers for their consent. The Association, which in many respects resembles a company union, called in the affected teachers to break the news. Queried as to what the Association would do, the president replied, in effect, "Nothing."

When this occurred, teachers, both members and non-members of the Federation, began calling the president of the Pittsburgh Federation, Nelle Hildebrand Wing, to ask what the Federation could do. Through previous research on the Tenure Law, the Union announced that it would stop the cut, in the courts if necessary. It called upon the teachers to defend their rights. Immediately, President Wing got in touch with the two labor members of the Board of Education, George J. Walters, president of the powerful Building Trades Council, and Philip Murray, newly elected head of the CIO. Both promised to defend the teachers at the next Board meeting. She also talked with other Board members, telling them what was going to happen and why it was undesirable and unnecessary. They urged her to speak to the Board and requested her to help the Board meet its financial problems by political action in the state legislature. The rival Teachers Association took no decisive action of any kind except passing a weak resolution opposing cuts.

At the Board hearing, Mrs. Wing told the Board that because of the rapidly improving business conditions and profits, and especially because of the rising cost of living together with the rising wages throughout industry, it would be an injustice to cut the teachers' salaries. Then, reading from the State Tenure Law and the State School Code, she showed that the contemplated action would be illegal and warned that the Federation would throw its full strength, if necessary, behind a legal defense of the

teachers' salaries. Finally, she told members of the Board that there were other ways of meeting the financial stringency which the Federation was prepared to propose later to the Board and to the legislature.

The president of the Association followed the Federation president and said the only reason he could give against the teachers' cuts was the reason Mrs. Wing had given. At the final action of the Board the following day, Philip Murray attacked salary cut proposals so vigorously that the Superintendent announced that the teacher paycut proposal was dead.

The newspaper stories gave credit to the Federation and Philip Murray. Within three hours after the end of the Board meeting, members of the Association had begun to call the Federation to join. An influx of new members has been a daily occurrence; in the last month the paid-up membership has trebled. This movement has been speeded up by the publication of a Federation release, telling the story in detail and then listing and answering all the prejudices, questions and lies which have kept teachers from joining.

The crisis has not been averted but only put off. An attack on kindergartens is expected to develop next. Already principals have called in the saved group of teachers and given them extra-heavy schedules. Grievances which have been tolerated for years are being brought to the Federation. A rapid organization of the new membership, the formation of working committees, the publication of financial and tax programs, together with the planning of a state legislative campaign, has put a very heavy strain on the small group of officers and members who have the responsibility of directing the swiftly growing local. The sudden discovery by a group of intelligent teachers that there is an organization in which they can work and which can make full use of their abilities has released a flood of energy which promises to stir new forces into action throughout this area.

MILDRED SNODGRASS

Negro Teachers Win Fight for Equal Pay

THE INEQUALITIES in educational opportunity for nine million Americans, because of their race, have long been a hindrance to the effective functioning of our democracy. Speeches, protests, appeals of all kinds were of little avail in abolishing these injustices. Legal action, however, has finally begun to change the situation, and if sustained action is carried on for the next few years, there may be a complete reversal both in law and practice.

In 1934 the Garland Fund donated to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People \$10,000 "to be used exclusively for a campaign of legal action and public education against unequal apportionment of public funds for education and discrimination in public transportation." In 1935 the Association began its campaign in the educational field and within the suc-

ceeding five years has achieved remarkable success, including two favorable actions by the United States Supreme Court (the Gaines Decision and the one mentioned below).

In 1938, Melvin Alston and the Norfolk Teachers Association filed suit in the United States District Court of Eastern Virginia against the Norfolk Board of Education and the superintendent of schools on the grounds that unequal salaries because of race were an infringement of their Constitutional rights.

The District Court decided against Mr. Alston on the grounds that by entering into a contract with the Norfolk School Board he had waived the Constitutional rights he was seeking to enforce. An appeal to the Fourth District Circuit Court brought a complete reversal of the decision of the lower court, June 28, 1940.

Three main questions were decided by the Circuit Court: (1) that unequal salaries were "as clear a discrimination on the grounds of race as could well be imagined and fall squarely within the inhibition of both 'due process' and the 'equal protection' clauses of the fourteenth amendment"; (2) that Negro teachers had the right to raise the question of discrimination in court; and (3) that the teachers did not waive their rights by signing a contract. In this regard the decision was quite explicit: "If this were sound, there would be no practical means of redress for teachers subject to unconstitutional discrimination. . . . If the state may compel the surrender of one Constitutional right as a condition of its favor it may, in like manner, compel the surrender of all. It is inconceivable that guarantees embedded in the Constitution of the United States may thus be manipulated out of existence."

The School Board of Norfolk was unwilling to accept this decision and took the case to the United States Supreme Court whose refusal to review the judgment of the Circuit Court was, in substance, approval of its verdict. This refusal to review was decided in December, 1940.

One of the encouraging aspects of the case was the favorable newspaper opinion of most of the Virginia press. The *Richmond Times Dispatch* in an editorial on June 28 wrote: "That such discrimination against Negro teachers as was alleged in the Norfolk case does exist in Virginia, on a wholesale scale, is common knowledge. In some counties, white teachers have received almost twice as much pay as Negro teachers, with virtually the same teaching duties. It is time this discrimination was ended, in the interests of fair play, and also of a better public school system. The Norfolk case may end it, not only in Virginia, but throughout the nation."

Because the American Federation of Teachers believes fully in the practice of democracy in education its Executive Council in its midwinter session adopted the following resolution:

"WHEREAS, The American Federation of Teachers has consistently supported the principle of equal salaries for equal work and has opposed salary discrimination based on differences in sex, race, or marital status; and

"WHEREAS, The average salary of Negro teachers in states where separate schools are maintained is \$462

yearly as contrasted to an annual average of \$937 for white teachers; and

"WHEREAS, The success of Negro organizations in securing equalization of salaries in Virginia is in line with the policy of the American Federation of Teachers; therefore be it

"Resolved: That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Teachers heartily approve the action of the Supreme Court of the United States which upheld the decision of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals equalizing salaries of Negro teachers in Norfolk, Virginia; and be it further

"Resolved: That the editor of the AMERICAN TEACHER be requested to give publicity to the decision ending salary discrimination in Virginia so that teachers' locals and professional organizations may be stimulated to press for similar action in other states."

LAYLE LANE

Teachers and the Labor Movement

TEACHERS, LIKE other workers, want security on the job, the right to function as citizens of a democracy, the freedom to live up to an ideal of craftsmanship. Teachers were a long time finding out that they could achieve these ends only through collective activity of their own group in co-operation with other organized workers and not through their individual efforts.

The end product of American teachers today is the development, under the strains and stresses of a machine age, of well integrated children able to make a living, to perform the duties of citizens in a democracy, and to express themselves in some creative activity which gives richness and meaning to their lives.

American teachers, therefore, accept as the basis of their educational philosophy the achievement of the democratic way of life in all of its implications and ramifications. They justify the expenditures on educational budgets and demands for even greater appropriations by pointing out the infinite possibilities for the improvement of the individual and of society.

It must be remembered that every step in the extension of public education—establishment of elementary schools, the opening of high schools, state universities, municipal colleges and junior colleges—was fought bitterly by those who could provide education for their children in private schools and who refused to be taxed for the education of all children.

On what group in society, then, can the teachers depend for support of the movement for the further extension of education and for the reorganization of our educational curricula and procedures which will make them adaptable to the needs of children growing up in an industrial era?

The disenfranchised workers in America were the first to realize that their children could get equal educational opportunities only through the establishment of tax-sup-

ported schools. Indeed, the first use they made of their ballot was to vote themselves public schools. Wage earners have been foremost in the fight for public schools from that memorable day in 1830 when they were stoned on the streets of Boston for demanding tax-supported schools. During the darker days of the present economic depression, when the most preposterous and far-reaching curtailments were proposed and in some instances put into operation, no one group stood more firmly and consistently by the schools than the men and women of the trade-union movement. And in these days, when the Defense Program is being used as an excuse for the curtailment of public education, the organized labor movement is standing like a bulwark against the rising tide of reaction. There is, then, a genuine identity of interest between the teachers who believe in basing democracy on equality of educational opportunity and the workers who see in the public schools the only educational opportunity for their children.

The free public school, however, does not constitute the whole answer. It is indeed, only a corollary of the larger economic problem which affects all workers. There are still millions of young people who cannot afford to attend free high schools, state universities, and municipal colleges. There are still millions of workers who are poorly paid, millions who are unemployed, millions who are suffering from the insecurities of modern industrial life. Teachers who join the trade-union movement feel that they have some responsibility towards the great mass of workers who are undergoing these hardships and who help produce the wealth that makes possible the development of public education. Moreover, there are thousands of teachers who are suffering from inadequate compensation and from the same insecurities that haunt the lives of industrial workers. The same forces that are found in our legislative bodies exerting all their influence and power against decent wages, against social-security legislation, adequate child-labor legislation, and against the right of workers to organize are the most active lobbyists against adequate appropriations for education and against tenure laws for teachers.

Earnest and devoted teachers often express the fear that by affiliating with labor they will lose the power and the opportunity for objective study and presentation of their subjects, that they will become mere propagandists. This is a very genuine concern and has troubled many intellectuals. Followed to its logical conclusion, however, such aloofness would lead teachers into ivory towers, from which they would contemplate life but never participate in its activities. Teachers must be brave enough to take the risks which actual participation in the affairs of the market place involves. Objectivity arrived at by shunning realities ends in sterility.

In this grave hour, teachers cannot evade their responsibilities. Organized in a movement with all other productive workers, they must help devise such rules of the game of making a living as will bring a more secure and just way of life for all.

LILLIAN HERSTEIN

The President's Page

The Action of the Council On the New York Situation

AT ITS MEETING in December the Executive Council asked New York Local 5 to show cause why its charter should not be revoked. At the same time it resolved to consider at its meeting on February 15 whether the charters of Local 453 and 537 should not also be revoked. The details of this action, as it pertains to Local 5, have already been reported in the pages of the AMERICAN TEACHER.

The question of the revocation of a charter of the American Federation of Teachers is a matter of utmost seriousness. Of this the members of the Council were and are fully aware. They took the action reported, moreover, only with the greatest reluctance. They are not, as has been alleged, motivated in the least by a factional spirit or by the desire to entrench themselves in power in the Federation. They belong to diverse political groups and are bound together by the single purpose of opposing every kind of totalitarianism and of building a union completely and militantly devoted to the principles and processes of American democracy. The delegates to the Convention in Buffalo last August endorsed by an overwhelming vote this position. The Federation can be built on no other foundation. Indeed it can only continue to live by establishing itself firmly on such a foundation.

The Council took the action it did for no less a purpose than that of saving the American Federation of Teachers as a part of the American Federation of Labor. The members should know that the very life of the Union may be at stake. Under such circumstances grave and hard decisions have to be made. The present epoch has demonstrated that democracies, if they are to survive, must be prepared to make decisions of this character.

The thing that distinguishes the American Federation of Teachers from all other teachers' organizations is its affiliation with organized labor. This affiliation has two major purposes. First, it enables teachers to identify themselves with the cause of organized labor which, they believe, is the spear-point in the struggle for democracy in industrial society. Second, it gives teachers the support of the local, state, and national bodies of the powerful American Federation of Labor in their fight for public education and for the improvement of their status as workers. In view of the fact that they have renounced the right to strike, a major weapon of free labor unions everywhere, they are peculiarly dependent on the good will and active support of the American Federation of Labor. Without

such good will and support the basic purposes of the Union cannot be fulfilled. Let the affiliation of the American Federation of Teachers with the American Federation of Labor be seriously impaired and the chief reason for its existence is destroyed. It then becomes just another teachers' organization. And that affiliation has been threatened during recent years. This fact can be established by any candid person who desires to take the time to inquire.

Evidence presented at the Council meeting indicates, among other things, that the three New York locals are only technically in the American Federation of Labor. They have all been suspended for two or three years from the Central Trades and Labor Council. In addition, it is said that they are only tolerated in the New York State Federation of Labor and are not recognized as legitimate unions by the national executive of the American Federation of Labor. It is also said that the leaders and spokesmen of these unions, by their policies and practices over a period of years, both locally and nationally, have gradually carried their own membership out of the labor movement and are today placing in jeopardy our entire Federation. If the situation, as presented, had arisen from some misunderstanding or from passing incident or mood, it could be easily repaired. But this seems not to be the case.

The difficulty seems to be deep-seated and chronic. During a period of more than a year I endeavored with all good will and by every means available to work out an adjustment. I was unsuccessful. At no time during these negotiations did the representatives of the local involved reveal any realization of the gravity of their position. It is doubtful if any one of the locals as now constituted can be readmitted to good standing in the central labor body. President Green himself, though he endeavored on one occasion to achieve this end, was unable to do it. Unless the Federation is to regard itself as a debating society this can only be interpreted as an exceedingly serious situation. By losing the support of the Central Trades and Labor Council, which represents almost one million workers in New York City and vicinity, the leadership apparently has placed the locals in a thoroughly exposed and isolated position. Moreover, in spite of its great activity that leadership seems incapable of rallying the forces necessary to defend public education in these difficult times. To label all critics, including officers of both the American Federation of Labor and the American Federation of Teachers, as "reactionaries" and "red-baiters" constitutes nothing less than an evasion of the underlying difficulties.

GEORGE S. COUNTS

The Secretary-Treasurer's Page

Ineffective Intellectuals?

THESE NOTES are written en route to Chicago from Madison, Wisconsin, where, at the request of President William Green, I represented the AFL education committee at a most interesting and successful educational conference sponsored by the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor and co-operating groups including the Railroad Brotherhoods, co-operative organizations and the Wisconsin State Federation of Teachers. The two-day conference on January 18 and 19 adopted a comprehensive and progressive program of education including federal and state aid, health education, curriculum revision, instruction in the co-operative movement, principles and practices in trade unionism, teacher tenure, and actuarially-sound retirement laws.

However, I wish to refer especially to one small but significant part of the discussion which emanated from an excellent report of the Committee on Public School Education. When the problem of curriculum revision was introduced by AFT Vice President, Miss S. Amelia Yeager, one delegate stated abruptly and emphatically: "The whole educational system should be reorganized so we can get rid of these educational parasites. The cost of schools and roads is forcing farmers into tenancy."

Following this unexpected verbal blitzkrieg another delegate, a state officer of a large organization, arose and said: "I do not use quite such an emphatic term as 'educational parasites'—I call them 'ineffective intellectuals.'"

A third delegate arose and opined thus: "I think teachers should be compelled to go out and *work for their living* at least one year."

When, as a high-school student, I was an apprentice bricklayer and engaged in constructing tile and brick kilns, I recall that one of our helpers persistently referred to teaching positions as "teachers' snaps." It was not difficult to understand the point of view of an unskilled workman who looked upon all white-collar jobs (even truck driving) as easy "snaps." I could well understand the point of view of the president of a large central labor body who supplemented my talk on "Labor and Education" by stating that "teachers are the dumbest people on earth—outside of textbooks." The labor leader, while recognizing the competency of teachers in their positions, referred to their inability to organize for the purpose of solving their economic and professional problems. Definitely, however, teachers do have something to ponder seriously when three responsible and democratically chosen leaders of organizations traditionally favorable to education characterize teachers as parasites, ineffective intellectuals, and creatures indolently lolling in idleness at public expense.

Recently I conferred with the executive board of a central labor council in a city where our local organization was reported to be in a serious state of disrepute with the central body and the labor movement in general. The president of the council informed me that the usual expression when the teacher delegates came in was "here come those crack-pot teachers again." Obviously this situation is far from typical and there is the possibility of faulty conceptions on the part of the central body as well as on the part of the teacher delegates.

All of this indicates that the teachers of America have failed miserably in their program of public relations in certain important areas and that there exists an alarming apathy toward education as an essential concomitant of democratic government and a quasi-contempt for teachers as job holders on the public payroll.

That the first duty of a union teacher is to do a good job of teaching school and to strive for better working conditions only in terms of improved educational facilities for the nation's children has long been the fundamental concept of the American Federation of Teachers. Upon no other basic philosophy can a successful union program ultimately be predicated. It must be a primary and principle objective of organized teachers to prove to the citizens of America that there is no group of professional workers in the nation which is more devoted, industrious and efficient than the teachers in the public schools; that thousands of teachers work in virtual sweatshops with forty to fifty pupils or more and with equipment which is grossly inadequate; that parents who are nonplused by the problems of rearing one or two children should be deeply sympathetic with and respectful to the teacher who is faced with the enervating task of training a "family" of twenty-five to fifty active children; that the school day is only part of the teacher's day and that many hours are spent at night marking papers, making lesson plans, filling in ever-increasing reports, and rendering countless services to the community; that no place in the economic structure of the nation does the investment of a dollar bring such large returns in actual service rendered as in a teacher's salary; that the total cost in taxes to the average American family for educating the children in the family is only approximately as much as the cost of operating the ice box in the kitchen; that the nation spends more than twice as much for liquor as for the salaries of the teachers of the nation's children and seven times as much for crime and delinquency as for the total cost of education; that the teachers are not educational parasites, but the builders of citizenship—not ineffective intellectuals but efficient, highly-skilled workers, and that they actually *work* for a living.

IRVIN R. KUENZLI

THE AMERICAN TEACHER

Answer of Local 5 to Charges Made Against It by the Executive Council

AFTER WHAT it chooses to call an investigation, the Executive Council presented nine charges against us. The very investigation, however, is an indictment of the good faith of the Council. Our Local was not notified of the Executive Council meeting, nor were we asked to send anyone. We were not informed of any investigation. No charges were presented to us. Mr. Hendley, president of Local 5, and Mr. Zysman, vice-president, were in Chicago merely because the Executive Board of our Local thought they ought to be there to present a brief against the establishment of a dual union. *The Council spent most of its time discussing Local 5 and listening to attacks upon us by resigned members who had been informed of the meeting and who were fully prepared to testify.* On December 30, we were informed that an investigation had been ordered. On December 31, Mr. Hendley and Mr. Zysman appeared before the Council to protest this action. They did not know whether an investigating committee had been established. A resolution was read to them (they were not even shown the charges in writing) and a few questions were put to them. They read into the record a statement that they had not been authorized to take part in an investigation of our Local. On January 3, we received from the Secretary-Treasurer, Mr. Kuenzli, a telegram in the form of a press release informing us of the move to revoke our charter. It was not until January 6 that we officially received notice that we must "show cause" on February 15 why our charter should not be revoked.

We summarize below the charges against us and our answers.

I. That Local 5 Promoted Dual Unionism by Assisting in the Organizing of a CIO Local of Custodial Engineers.

This is not true. Our Local had no connection at all with the CIO union mentioned. One of our members spoke at a meeting of that local. However, she spoke as an individual. Her action was not authorized by the Local, nor did we know of it until the Executive Council brought it up as a charge against us. Does the Executive Council propose to expel every local, a member of which has spoken as an individual at a CIO meeting?

II. That Local 5 Has Been Engaged in Dual Unionism by Violating the Jurisdiction of Local 24 Which Has a Charter for Vocational Teachers.

The jurisdictional dispute between Local 24 and Local 5 dates back more than two decades. We do not know how it originated. Our charter, which antedates that of

Local 24, authorizes Local 5 to organize all New York City teachers. The charter of Local 24 covers vocational teachers. The present administration inherited this dispute when it took office in 1935. In 1938, the national Executive Council recommended that Local 24 amalgamate with Local 5 or that the two locals set up a joint board. Local 24 refused to act upon either of these recommendations.

We then met with the officers of Local 24, conceded their jurisdictional claims and agreed to settle details at a later meeting to be called by them. They did not call the meeting. Dr. Counts called one meeting which had no results. Local 5 then drew up a written memorandum as a basis for settlement and tried to arrange another meeting. We repeatedly wrote and called Local 24 asking for another meeting, but our efforts met with no response. In other words negotiations stopped through the unwillingness of Local 24 to continue them and the failure of Dr. Counts to see that they were continued. It is hard to see why the Executive Council should bring this jurisdictional dispute up against us instead of helping us to settle it.

III. That the Internal Affairs of Local 5 Have Been So Conducted as to Bring Disharmony and Factionalism and to Result in Loss of Membership, and Make It Unlikely that Said Local Can Effect a Satisfactory Organization of the Teachers of New York.

We have already set forth at great length the internal workings of Local 5. We should add that opposition, which has no way of expressing itself in some locals, was given full opportunity to express itself in our Local. In spite of this, the opposition failed to gain many adherents and was overwhelmingly defeated in every election and in every referendum. Differences of opinion did not impede the growth of our Local. From some 1,200 in 1935, it grew to 6,500 in 1939. This does not give a complete picture of its growth, because it leaves out college and WPA teachers originally in Local 5 who, with our help, formed separate locals in their limited jurisdiction as their numbers and special needs justified such action. Such separate locals, each having a defined and limited jurisdiction, and set up with the consent of all concerned, do not constitute dual unionism. This leaves out of account the New York State locals which we helped organize.

In 1939, after he became president of the American Federation of Teachers, Dr. Counts took the opposition within Local 5 under his wing. He met with them fre-

quently, gave them advice on election tactics, and appeared at one of their meetings. None of this was conducive to Union growth. That year also saw an intensive attack on unions and on education throughout the country. Yet we managed to hold our own, which is just about what happened in the AFT nationally. In his report to the 1940 convention, Mr. Kuenzli boasted that the AFT as a whole had reason to be proud of holding its own at a time when a weaker organization might have lost large numbers of members. This year we have had some loss in membership, although we still have close to 6,000 members. Some of this loss may be attributed to the fear created by the Coudert Committee. Most of it, however, must be attributed to the public attacks upon us by the Executive Council itself, which were used to good advantage by the union-hating press.

In spite of these losses, Local 5 has a record for organization which is superior to all but a few localities in the country. It is certainly the best achievement along these lines ever seen in New York City under any Union administration. Up to 1935 the highest peak of organization reached—and this included college teachers—was 2,200.

It is to the Teachers Guild, the group which left the Union in 1935, and which never organized more than 2,200 teachers in New York when in charge of the Union, and which numbers only 1,000 members at the present time, that the Council proposes to give our charter. How can it expect us to take seriously its statement that this is to be done in the interests of greater organization?

IV. That Publicity Resulting from Political and Other Activities of Local 5 Has Resulted in Loss of Membership Throughout the AFT and Tends to Bring the AFT into Disrepute.

The publicity given to Local 5, the false charges of political activity up to this year, have come from the Teachers Guild, the Counts' faction in Local 5, Dr. Counts and some of his associates at Teachers College. Dr. Counts and his supporters issue this publicity and then complain of its harmful effects on the AFT. The American Federation of Teachers and Local 5 grew until we were confronted with this barrage of harmful publicity from within the American Federation of Teachers.

V. That Political and Other Activities of Local 5 and Factions Thereof Caused an Investigation by a Committee of the American Federation of Labor in 1935-36 Which Resulted in Recommendation for Revocation of the Charter of Local 5.

In 1935 Dr. Linville and Dr. Lefkowitz headed the administration of Local 5. For several years prior to 1935—during the crisis in education which accompanied the general economic crisis—they had shown too little disposition to deal with the most serious problems facing teachers. They refused to admit substitutes or to fight adequately for them. They showed a tendency to compro-

mise on salary cuts. An ever growing group in the Local expressed dissatisfaction with their program and tactics. Like the Counts group today, the Linville administration met this opposition with an investigation, with charges of communism, and with demands for charter revocation. They had the support of William Green. The American Federation of Teachers convention after thorough discussion rejected their demands. In answer they walked out of the convention followed by John Connors, Stanton Smith, Selma Borchardt and some others. Finally only Drs. Linville and Lefkowitz with about 800 followers remained outside the American Federation of Teachers. They formed the Teachers Guild. At the request of Selma Borchardt, and in order to bring pressure to bear on the American Federation of Teachers, the American Federation of Labor Executive Council went over the Linville-Lefkowitz charges in the winter of 1935-36 and again called for the revocation of our charter. The 1936 American Federation of Teachers convention again considered the charges and again rejected them. Much has happened since then. Most of the members of Local 5 were not even in the American Federation of Teachers at that time. Now—after a lapse of six years—the charges twice considered and twice rejected by American Federation of Teachers conventions are brought forward as a reason for revoking our charter. The case of the Executive Council must be very weak if it can muster nothing better than old, twice-discredited charges to bring against us.

VI. That Local 5 Delegates Have Been Suspended from the Central Trades and Labor Council.

In 1938 we called a conference of American Federation of Labor unions exclusively in the interests of unity in the labor movement. The split in the labor movement is very keenly felt in New York where both AFL and CIO have great strength. That conference was attended by 80 AFL unions. Its only action was to pass a resolution—similar to those passed annually at AFT conventions—calling on the AFL to take up the question of unity in the labor movement. Unions frequently call conferences on matters of common interest. We thought we were well within our rights. The Central Trades, however, summarily suspended us on grounds of exceeding our authority.

VII. That We Have Been Expelled from the Joint Committee of Teachers Organizations.

The Joint Committee of Teachers Organizations claims the adherence of some 60 organizations in New York City. Some of these organizations no longer exist. Some of them have almost no membership. Among their largest organizations are the following:

(1.) Supervisory dominated borough organizations. These are mainly paper organizations whose major activity consists of infrequent press releases.

(2.) The Teachers Guild which was formed to fight the Teachers Union. Its chief activity has been attacking

the Union. Its outstanding leader, Dr. Linville, has appeared before the Dies Committee and the Coudert Committee in his efforts to destroy the Union. The Guild requires a loyalty oath as a condition for membership. It has given its support to the Coudert investigation. It has also given its support to a proposed plan for probationary teachers which would destroy the merit system and teacher tenure.

(3.) The Teachers Alliance. This organization was formed in 1938 to combat not only Local 5 but teacher unionism as such. It opposes federal aid for schools. It supports the Coudert investigation. It attacks the free colleges. It works for religious education in the schools. It calls for dismissal of all teachers who do not conform to its brand of Americanism. Mr. Frank Whalen, chairman of the Joint Committee, is a member of the Teachers Alliance.

Policies of the Joint Committee are decided by a small Executive Committee.

The Joint Committee opposes Union tactics such as delegations. Last year it called on teachers to boycott our delegation to Albany, without which the budget hearings would have been handed over to the economy groups which brought large numbers of their adherents.

The Joint Committee has shown itself unnecessarily willing to compromise on teachers' interests. In the summer of 1939, it supported a salary-cut bill although we were able to defeat salary cuts at that time. The assemblyman who introduced the bill, when asked by a fellow assemblyman on the floor of the legislature who was behind it, said at first, "God-fearing parents and all true American teachers." When pressed further, he said, "The Joint Committee of Teachers Organizations."

Leaders of the Joint Committee have walked through American Federation of Labor picket lines in Albany.

The very existence of the Union has been a source of constant embarrassment to the Joint Committee which was eager to silence Union criticism. The Union tried to work within the Joint Committee in the interest of unity, but insisted on its right to independent activity and to criticism. In no other way could it have protected the teachers. An article of criticism was the basis for expulsion.

VIII. That Local 5 Has Disrupted the Work of the AFT by a Large Number of Communications to Locals.

It is rather the AFT Council which has disrupted the work of the organization by its investigations, threats of charter revocation, and plans for dual unionism. Only our letters to locals and their subsequent protests prevented the setting up of a dual union without the knowledge of AFT members. The Executive Council has been responsible for issuing press statements attacking us. We have no way of presenting the facts except by writing to locals of the AFT. We consider it our duty to bring to the attention of the AFT any plans for the splitting and disruption of the organization. We need to defend ourselves. It is

not to be expected that the second largest local can be railroaded out of the AFT without taking steps in its defense.

IX. That the Leadership of Local 5 Has Engaged in Certain Tactics and Practices Inimical to Democracy.

This statement is false and baseless. All our activities are directed toward safeguarding democracy. We wish to present a few of our activities in this specific field: (1) We formulated and popularized a program for democratizing our schools. (2) We exposed anti-semitic practices in the schools. (3) We have prepared and distributed class and assembly programs on tolerance and democracy. (4) We conduct annually the largest and most significant educational conference in New York on the theme, "Education for Democracy." (5) We have conducted forums on civil liberties, the rights of trade unions, etc. (6) We have held mass meetings on academic freedom and civil liberties for teachers.

In the daily conduct of our affairs, Local 5 gives an unrivalled example of practical democracy.

The actions of the Executive Council are a threat to the entire American Federation of Teachers. Note that its destructive tactics are no longer confined to a single local. It now threatens the College Teachers Union which contains the bulk of the AFT college membership and which carries on its rolls some of our country's most famous scholars. This is a local which has been acclaimed by several AFT conventions for its achievements in tenure and democratic rights for college teachers and which is now engaged in a struggle against the destruction of free higher education. It also threatens the WPA local at a time when most of its members face loss of jobs through curtailment of WPA appropriations. The Executive Council's attacks have also spread to the Pennsylvania State Federation of Teachers which stands out for its achievements in the field of tenure and other teachers' interests.

Any local which does not agree with the present Council's policies on tactics is in danger.

CHARLES J. HENDLEY, President

DALE ZYSMAN, Vice President

EUGENE JACKSON, Vice President

MABEL HAWKINS, Vice President

LAWRENCE E. PRENDERGAST, Recording Sec'y

BELLA V. DODD, Legislative Representative

LOUIS J. ROSENTHAL, Sec'y-Treasurer

The charges against Local 5, as prepared by the AFT Executive Council at the midwinter meeting in Chicago, were published in full in the January, 1941, issue of the American Teacher on pages 4 and 5. The charges appeared under the heading, "Report of the Council Acting as a Committee of the Whole on the Investigation of Local 5."

Chattanooga Fights for Better Schools

Stanton Smith

WHEN THE AFT was a mere infant, Local 12 was chartered in the schools of Hamilton County, Tennessee. According to the best information we have secured, this Local met once and was never called together again. That was in 1919. For thirteen years the teachers of this community went along with only the usual administration-dominated teachers' associations to guide their destinies and the lush days of the boom years of the roaring '20's to lull them with a sense of security and hope. Even then salaries were not good. Then came 1929! Salaries held pretty well until 1931. In the fall of '32 it was suddenly announced that the teachers of Chattanooga were to receive a 20 per cent reduction in salaries. Other city employees were to receive only 10 per cent reduction. County teachers were expected to suffer a similar fate. This was the proverbial "straw," and soon a lusty, thriving, vociferous union was under way—charter number 246 of the American Federation of Teachers—embracing teachers of both Hamilton County and Chattanooga schools.

Our hands were full with the dual problem of organizing the local and fighting the battle in defense of the schools—frills and fads, donated services, shortened terms, wholesale dismissals, all the elements of the well-charted course of the dismal '30's.

Two major problems confronted us with respect to working conditions of teachers: tenure and salaries. At this time the city of Chattanooga had no salary schedule of any kind. Teachers were paid according to the conditions existing at the time of first employment and according to the particular "bargaining" power of the individual. Raises were few and far between and followed no pattern. As a result there were enormous inequities between various teachers of comparable training, experience and position. The situation in Hamilton County was a bit better as a salary schedule had been in operation for a few years prior to the depression. It was abandoned, however, with the first signs of financial panic.

We set ourselves to the task and in the spring of 1935—the third year of the Union—we secured passage of four major laws by the Tennessee General Assembly: (1) a tenure law for Chattanooga; (2) a tenure law for Hamilton County; (3) a salary schedule law for Chattanooga; and (4) a salary schedule for Hamilton County. This was a great victory resulting from careful planning and hard work. In the course of lobbying the bills through the state legislature more than 25,000 letters and telegrams were sent to the county delegation in the state legislature—and this from a community of about 160,000 population.

But the battle was not over. The tenure laws were accepted and have been in operation ever since—they

cost no money; the salary laws were a different story—they *would* cost money. Both city and county ignored the salary laws and rejected our attempts to reach agreement as to a plan for putting them into operation gradually. In fairness it must be said that the officials of Hamilton County did offer a five-year program. We wanted a three-year program. The net result was that we were forced to bring suit in chancery court in the fall of '35 for writs of mandamus to compel payment of the salaries stipulated. Thus began a long series of events only recently terminated by the Supreme Court of Tennessee. This story is sketched briefly for the value it may have in guiding other locals starting their careers and for the rather interesting basis of the ultimate decision of the Supreme Court.

Our suits for writs of mandamus were resisted by both city and county by demurrers, meaning that they challenged the constitutionality of the laws. But the chancellor (judge of the court of equity) upheld the teachers. Round One went to the Union. However, an appeal was taken and the cases went on to the Supreme Court (the highest court in Tennessee).

The Union bent every effort to hold the public support which it had had up to this point. We offered to compromise by waiving claims to back salaries now amounting to about one-half million dollars in return for a definite plan to put the schedules in operation in several steps extending over a period of years. These offers brought no response and so we pressed the suits. The Supreme Court handed down its decisions in the summer of 1936. The county salary law was declared unconstitutional on the grounds that it sought to set aside the general law and impose a burden on Hamilton County not common to other counties of the state—this in the face of a decision of the same court in 1925 in a pension case involving Knox County in which the court had said that the state legislature could fix the salaries of teachers! Even though the law might apply to only one county its validity would scarcely be open to question! We had relied heavily on this bit of obiter dicta and were somewhat stunned at the outcome. But it was part of our social education, and we accepted it as such and carried on.

All was not lost, however, for the county board of education adopted a modified form of the salary schedule we had proposed and announced a five-year program of reaching the full salaries set forth. The first of these five steps was put into effect for 1936-37, giving average increases of about 5 per cent. The five-year program, however, was quickly forgotten and only subsequent pressure by the Union has brought forth additional increases—one, an increase for all teachers receiving less than \$100

per month to that amount and general increases this current year based on the schedule and amounting to about 5 per cent on the average. The moral: a five-year program will bear no fruits without constant requests and efforts.

The suit on the city salary law has had a somewhat different career since our first-round victory in the chancery court. The Supreme Court in the summer of 1936, when it voided the county law, refused to pass on the constitutionality of the city law and remanded it to the chancery court for a hearing on the facts. In its decision in this case it did two things: (1) although refusing to decide the case on a demurrer it gave leave to the defendant (the city of Chattanooga) to rely on the demurrer as part of its defense, and (2) it pointed out the question which the facts should bring out, namely, whether or not the city of Chattanooga did in fact operate a system of public schools.

A word of explanation of this latter point is in order if the peculiar technicality of this case is to be understood. The schools of Tennessee are organized on the county unit basis with each county school system under a county board of education. In 1925 the General Assembly of Tennessee passed a general reorganization act for the schools of the state in which it said that any city or incorporated municipality which was operating its own school system could continue to do so only if it levied an additional elementary-school tax (counties share their elementary-school funds with cities operating independent school systems within the counties) for operation of the elementary schools other than for grounds, buildings and equipment. Although the city of Chattanooga had for many years maintained its own independent school system, it was technically possible under this law that it did not operate them in law even though it did in fact. We were thus put to the necessity of proving that the city of Chattanooga did levy an elementary-school tax for operating expenses other than for grounds, buildings and equipment.

This was not an easy order for the city schools are financed in a rather peculiar manner. The general scheme is somewhat as follows: the annual school budget is about \$1,000,000. The bulk of this (about \$750,000) comes from Hamilton County as the city's share of the county's elementary-school tax. Smaller amounts come from the state for high schools and from the federal vocational refunds. All of this becomes part of the general revenues of the city out of which the total appropriation for operation of the city's elementary, junior high, and senior high schools is made. Our task therefore boiled down to showing that the city actually expended for operation of the elementary schools other than for grounds, buildings, and equipment an amount in excess of the elementary-school money received from Hamilton County. Extensive auditing was necessary. The figures of our auditor and the city's auditor did not agree because of differences in allocation of some items where exact separation was not possible. In the end it developed that there were only a few dollars of difference in the amount of

elementary money received from Hamilton County and the amount expended on the elementary schools of the city for operating expenses other than for grounds, buildings and equipment. It was a rip and tuck, and we fought for every dollar. It was a toss-up. Now this all sounds perfectly silly, and it was—only it was tragic also.

Let us leave this tale of the terrible technicalities for a few moments to see what was happening to the Union's struggle to improve conditions and to bring about an agreeable settlement of the issue. Perhaps it should be said at this point that the Union's program was not concerned solely with salaries. This story is concerned chiefly with that problem, but our program was varied and broad, concerned with the whole school problem, as it should be. In spite of that the acuteness of the salary struggle made it very difficult, if not impossible, to prevent a general public impression that the Union was concerned solely with salaries—an unfortunate and harmful impression.

In the spring of 1937 we made another attempt to compromise the issue and by agreement with the city commission an act was passed creating a separate school fund for Chattanooga, requiring the levying of a school tax of not less than four mills nor more than seven mills per dollar of assessed valuation, repealing the salary law and requiring the superintendent of schools to formulate a salary schedule and the city to adopt same by city ordinance. This act was submitted to a referendum. Immediately there sprang up a Home and Property Owners' Association to fight the school tax. A rather warm campaign resulted in the defeat of the school tax by less than 500 votes out of some 11,000 cast. But the defeat of the tax also defeated repeal of the salary law, so once more we pushed ahead with the suit.

In the fall of 1937 we again offered to compromise by withdrawing the suit in return for a schedule by city ordinance to be put into operation over a period of about five years. This was rejected. And then during the following year a small group of principals outside the Union formulated a salary schedule based solely on experience and making a differential between white and Negro teachers—a principle which the Union had consistently rejected. With the help and support of the mayor this schedule was adopted and some increases amounting to about 7 per cent on the average were given. This schedule was later amended and adopted as a city ordinance with additional increments for training, but no increases have as yet been forthcoming on the new basis. This was the climax—now the denouement!

Our principal attorney was appointed judge of one of the major courts of the county. His partner, who then took over active handling of the case, argued the case on the rehearing before the chancery court. The chancellor ruled against us and the teachers had lost Round Three. We filed an appeal, and while we waited for the second hearing before the Supreme Court our attorney died. The attorney who had been associated in the case originally then took over active handling of the case and finally after five years the case was once again heard in

the highest state court and the chancellor's last ruling was upheld. Wonder of wonders—the city of Chattanooga was held not to operate an independent system of schools, but was in law operating a portion of the county schools. Furthermore, not only was the law inoperative for want of a school system to which it could be applied, but the law was held unconstitutional for the same basic reason that the county law had been so held four years before.

All is not so dark as it might seem from the fore-

going. The teachers have a Union smaller than at first but stronger in determination and growing again. The teachers have tenure and a feeling of independence and self-respect never possessed before the days of the Union. And they have received some increase, averaging in total about 12 per cent over the lowest days of the depression. Much has been learned, much has been won, much remains to make the future a very active and interesting one.

Cleveland Wins Its Pegged Levy

Joseph F. Landis

THE YEAR of 1940 in Cleveland was characterized by four attempts by the Board of Education to secure some form of adequate financing of the Cleveland school system, necessitated by the expiration of a four-mill school levy after five years of operation.

On February 27, at a special election, a bond issue to be repaid out of delinquent tax collections was defeated although a 62 per cent majority voted in its favor; its passage required a 65 per cent majority by law. On May 14 a one-mill levy was proposed and defeated by a 55 per cent vote. At the general election on November 5 a four-mill levy for five years was defeated by a 56 per cent vote.

The law which made possible special elections for levy purposes expired December 31, 1940. This made it necessary for the Board of Education to resubmit a levy proposal if the schools were to be kept functioning during the full year of 1941. AFT Local 279, at a special meeting on Sunday, November 10, decided to urge that the Board submit another proposal at a special election, and committed the Union to fight aggressively for its passage under the Union name, financed by voluntary contributions from Union teachers, other interested teachers and friends of the schools.

President Joseph F. Landis of Local 279 was designated to head a campaign committee to carry out this plan. The Board of Education decided to submit a four-mill levy for two years at a special election on December 20. The two preceding levies had been defeated largely because of the issuance of a circular publishing teachers' salaries, sponsored by the realty and apartment-house-owners groups. This circular was deadly in its effect, insofar as the voters were concerned, and was the chief cause for the consecutive levy defeats.

Four days prior to the November 5 election, Roy Deal of Local 279 and Landis were able to persuade Mayor Burton of Cleveland to apply for an injunction against the distributors of this circular on the grounds that it libelously misrepresented him and injured him in his cam-

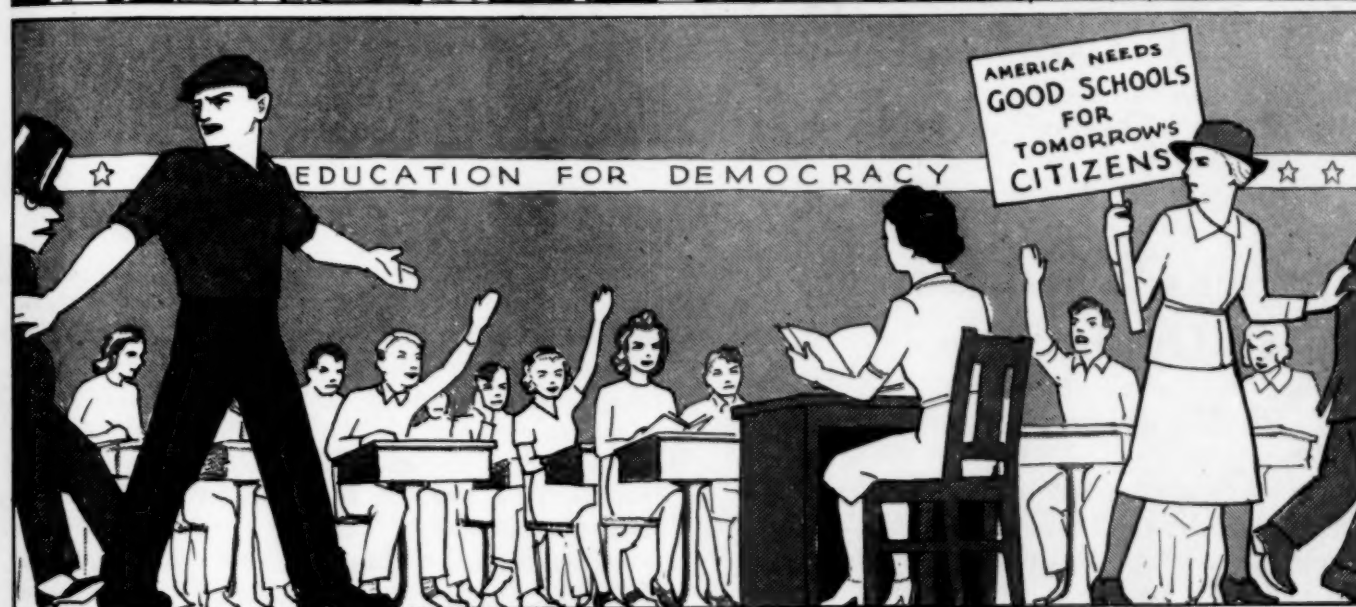
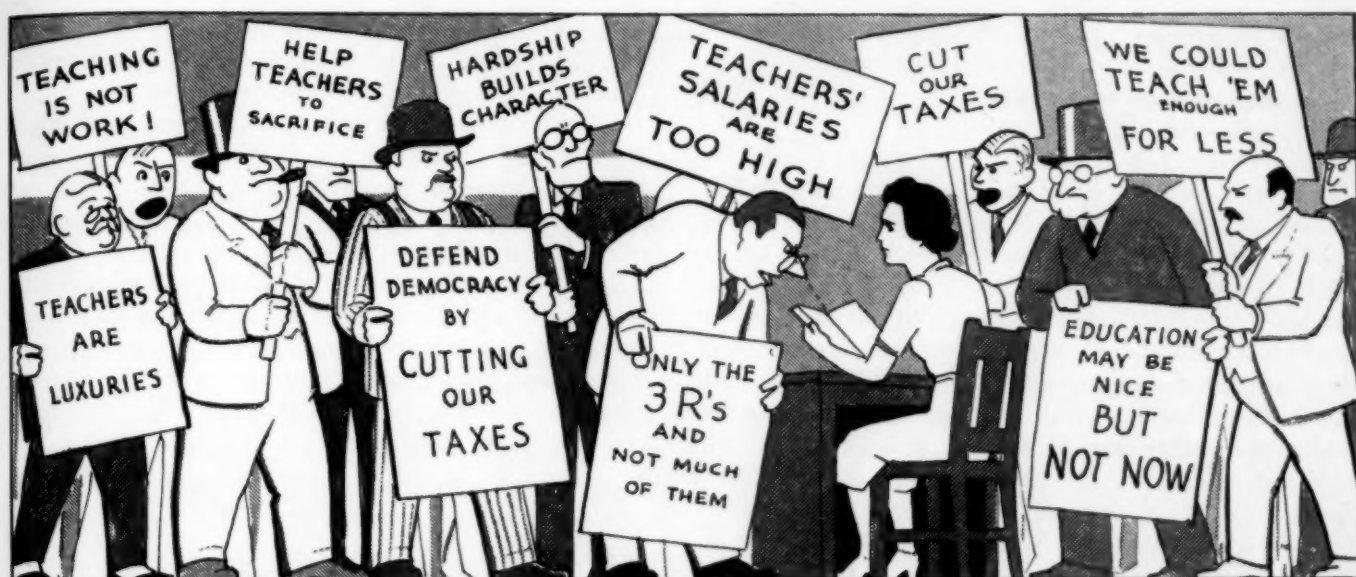
paign for election to the United States Senate from Northern Ohio. This injunction was granted by the Common Pleas Court and made permanent.

Legal action was instituted against the organization sponsoring this circular on the grounds that it failed to observe the Ohio election laws with respect to filing a complete account of receipts and expenditures. This investigation revealed that the Cleveland Building Owners and Managers Association was a heavy contributor to the fund to defeat the levy. Leading Cleveland merchants, as members of that Board, found themselves involved.

Local 279 was able to interest these merchants in exercising restraint against the issuance of another salary-schedule sheet in December. These merchants also carried bylines in their newspaper advertising for several days preceding the December 20th election, urging the public to support the levy and save the schools. Financial aid toward the conduct of the campaign was also furnished by several merchants.

The campaign proper was carried on for ten days preceding the election in intensified form. Foreign-language radio broadcasts were given in seven different languages. A battery of a dozen of the ranking citizens of Cleveland from all walks of life broadcast in English for ten successive nights, urging that the schools be kept open and that the levy be supported.

Five hundred thousand circulars were published, tersely presenting the needs of the schools and the certainty of their closing for a part of 1941 if the levy should fail to pass. Of these, 218,000 were distributed by Union distributors to every voting home in Cleveland. Eighty thousand were distributed throughout the schools, parent-teacher associations, clubs and the like. The opposition distributed a flare-head, single-sheet dodger attacking the levy as a million-dollar salary grab for the teachers and misrepresenting it as a tax increase on the same days that the Union made its house-to-house distribution. To offset the effect of this distribution, 200,000 of the Union



circulars were distributed on the night before election at all the leading factories of the city.

Card advertising was placed in all the street cars and buses of the city for the ten days preceding the election, and easel type cards were placed in store windows throughout the city.

Every civic organization in the city supported the levy, including all churches, the Chamber of Commerce, the Citizens' League, the League of Women Voters, Parent-Teacher Association, the American Legion, the Cleveland Federation of Labor, the CIO, and innumerable fraternal organizations. Very effective work was done by the PTA in conducting meetings during the campaign in every school building in the city, urging their members to actively campaign for and support the levy. Cleveland newspapers—foreign language, labor and daily—were very co-operative. Needless to say many of these organizations became particularly active after Local 279 had interested them in the necessity of protecting the educational welfare of the boys and girls. This wholehearted support was not wholly an accident.

Any doubt as to the success of the campaign was dis-

solved when the Cleveland Federation of Labor not only endorsed the campaign and contributed generously to its conduct but assigned to the Labor Joint Committee for Political Action the task of turning out the voters to assure its passage. This committee had previously turned out, in behalf of President Roosevelt, the greatest vote ever recorded in Cleveland. Under the able leadership of Chairman Edward Murphy, President of the Teamsters' Union, this Joint Committee, representing CIO, the Railroad Brotherhoods, and the AFL delivered in behalf of the schools a 64 per cent favorable vote, thus averting an educational disgrace to the city.

On the day of the election, voters were urged by radio announcements at half-hour intervals, sponsored by the American Legion, to do their patriotic duty and immediately go to the polls and vote for this levy. The outcome was a vote of approximately two to one in favor of the school levy. This result is a tribute solely to the activity of Local 279 which, under its own name, openly and outspokenly advocated passage of the levy as the only possible way to keep the schools open through 1941.

The motif of the entire campaign was "KEEP THE

SCHOOLS OPEN." Despite efforts of the opposition to connect the levy issue with salaries or increased taxes, the public was sold on the idea that the welfare of the children was the paramount issue.

At a Victory Dinner to honor Labor's Joint Committee for Political Action, held on January 3, Mr. Jack Raper, columnist of the *Cleveland Press*, commended the Cleveland Teachers' Union for the aggressive fight it led to keep Cleveland's schools open, for its good sense in joining with labor in advocating the rights of the common man, for campaigning on the high level of public and pupil benefit, for its success in enlisting the support of the public press and civic, political, fraternal, religious and educational groups to save the schools, and for its

unequivocal stand against those community forces content and willing to curtail the educational opportunities of Cleveland youth for purely personal gain.

These tributes to our organization suggest that Local 279 has made great gains in public approval and support and in joining the problems of education and our schools with the larger problems of the welfare of the greater Cleveland of tomorrow.

To the continuing increase of public approval and support of our schools, continuing co-operation with labor toward the betterment of conditions of employment and security, and continuing co-operation with all civic bodies toward a greater and better Cleveland, Local 279 commits itself in the years ahead.

In Defense of Public Education

Detroit, Madison, Chicago, St. Louis

Detroit's "Plain People" Speak Up for Schools

Phyllis Aaronson

TEACHERS AND school officials have fewer children attending public school than just plain people. Yet when it comes to forming school policy and curricula, the officials and, to a lesser extent, the teachers make the decisions. The "plain people," the vast majority of parents, are left out in the cold. No one consults them about whether they want their children crowded into a classroom with forty others. No one asks them if the students at X High School ought to have a student council.

True, parents hire a board of education to make these decisions for them. And the board, in turn, hands the job over to a huge staff of experts, the administrators and teachers. But it's a big responsibility. It presupposes an almost impossible degree of objectivity and perfection on the part of administration and teachers. It overlooks the fact that, endowed though they may be by the best intelligence and sincerest good will, school officials are hampered by low school budgets, by outside pressure groups, either downright crackpot or frankly anti-democratic, as the case may be.

On the other hand, there is always the possibility (usually hypothetical) that the administration is lax. Maybe it permits conditions that are both dangerous and needless.

Whatever the case, the school children must bear the brunt of the situation. Parents can—and teachers sometimes think they do—wash their hands of the schools

once they have elected a board of education. But their children can't do that. They must go to school day after day, enduring conditions which an occasional startled parent discovers. He may even write a letter to the local newspaper about it. He knows of no other avenue of protest.

Are teachers and administrators the only citizens and parents, then, who care what happens to the schools? Have the "plain people" turned their backs on the schools?

On the morning of January 18 in a room of a Detroit YWCA a tall man arose and spoke. "What we want," he said, "is a chance to know the schools' problems and to help solve them."

This man was an AFL local delegate to a conference sponsored by the Detroit Federation of Teachers, Local 231, on "What Should the Community Expect from the Schools?" He was speaking at the group, discussing "The Development of the Individual." At the same group someone said, "We want a chance to talk to teachers and find out what's going on in the schools."

Then came a rush of ideas, criticisms, proposals that were typical of those presented at every one of the five discussion groups into which the Conference was divided. Talk, talk, talk—there seemed to be no end to it or to the concrete suggestions that came of it. When lunch time came, the members of one group protested that they'd barely gotten started; could they have another conference soon to go on with the discussion?

Have the plain people turned their backs on the schools? Detroit teachers are delighted to give the answer as "No" for their community.

It was obvious from the beginning of that Saturday's conference that Detroit citizens had taken the quotation on the cover of the Conference Call seriously. It had

been selected from the Constitution of the American Federation of Teachers. It made the same declaration to the citizens of Detroit that Federation teachers had already affirmed among themselves:

"We believe that the teacher is one of the most highly productive of workers, and that the best interests of the schools and the people demand an intimate contact and an effective co-operation between the teachers and the other workers of the community—upon whom the future of democracy must depend."

The "other workers of the community" came in great variety to the Saturday Conference. Among them were members of the Detroit Municipal Employees Union, Detroit Electrotypers' Union, Women's Auxiliaries of Locals 235, 157, 36, 174, 204 of the UAW (CIO), Women's Auxiliary of the AFL, Detroit Library Association, Post Office Clerks, Steamfitters Union, a Consumer's League, a community house, a mothers' club. Many came as individuals—housewives, high-school and college students, unaffiliated workers, a candidate for the board of education, two or three administrators highly placed in the Detroit school system, and, of course, teachers, not only from Detroit but from surrounding towns and suburbs.

Most people attending the conference had a definite interest in a particular group and went at once to that group after the opening session of the Conference led by Florence Sweeney, President of Local 231.

Some went to the conference group on health. The chairman of this group was Mrs. O. G. Starrett, a member of the Detroit Welfare Commission. Others divided themselves among the four remaining groups: (1) "Development of the Individual"—Chairman, George Wright, Principal, Condon Intermediate School; (2) "Vocational Education"—Chairman, E. W. McFarland, Professor of Economics, Wayne University; (3) "Leisure Time and Recreation"—Chairman, Miss Ruth Rutzen, Detroit Public Library Staff; and (4) "Civic Loyalties"—Chairman, Mr. David Sonquist, Executive Secretary, Eastern Michigan Consumer Co-operatives.

At 12:45 the groups met again for luncheon and for the presentation of the group reports and recommendations by the chairmen. In very brief outline form, these reports are presented here:

Health

A. School health services are inadequate.

(1) There are inequalities among schools in the system—differences in health services and equipment.

(2) "Screening" (health examination by teachers) is ineffective. A yearly physician's examination should take its place.

(3) Overcrowded classrooms are the most serious impediments to health. The group recommends giving more publicity to crowded conditions. Parents should be invited to see the schools under natural conditions, not merely for auditorium programs. Movies should be made and shown depicting the overcrowded situation. The hush-hush policy of avoiding offense to big tax payers should be eliminated.

B. Parents and citizens should sit regularly at board of education meetings.

C. Representatives of citizen groups should organize to put pressure on the board of education to lay more emphasis on the school health program.

Development of the Individual

A. How do we want our children to develop?

LABOR: "Give our children confidence in their ability to face the future. Give us a chance to know the school's problems and to help solve them and teach our children the proper democratic attitudes, but don't forget the Three R's."

PARENTS: "We want the same thing labor wants. We want our children to be happy, self-disciplined, to be the best individuals they can be."

STUDENTS: "We want fearless teachers who will discuss realities in the classroom. We want more friendly teachers and only a few pupils to a teacher. We want to hear both sides of controversial questions."

TEACHERS: "We want smaller classes so as to work with individuals. We want a chance to work democratically and to live as individuals. We want an enlightened school board and labor support. We want freedom to work for the common people and a chance to tell parents about the newest education trends and thoughts."

B. Since the Detroit Federation of Teachers has established excellent relations with the Central Labor Body in the AFL for co-operation on our educational problems, be it resolved that a committee be formed to make contact with the CIO on support for school needs.

(At this point in the report, Miss Frances Comfort, vice-president of Local 231, pointed out: "We have had unusual and fine support from the CIO on education problems." The chairman then answered that though there has always been a strong feeling of unity on these problems, the resolution was aimed toward a more permanent and definite means of uniting on school problems.)

Vocational Education

A. Vocational education is the teaching of manipulative skills.

B. The purpose of elementary schools should be non-vocational in character except as a background in skills.

C. There is a need for extensive vocational education. But the present defense program in vocational education is not fully adequate. It is too hasty, trying to make people expert technicians without teaching them the necessity for the work in a democracy. A parallel was drawn with Nazi Germany.

D. Individuals must be *guided* into a vocation, rather than *directed* as in Nazi Germany.

E. "The more education our children have, the more anti-labor they become," some parents said. If hostility to unions comes from teachers, perhaps the ideas of teachers need investigation.

F. "Youth places too much emphasis on the pay envelope—the schools should not give false standards to young people who want big money without skills." (This was the comment of a union man.)

G. Since most high-school students don't go on to college, the high-school program should meet this condition with a suitable vocational-education program.

Recreation and Leisure Time

A. Recreation must be educational and leave a lasting impression.

B. Group recreational activities should put more responsibility on the group than on the leader.

C. School libraries, overcrowded, force public libraries to try to meet school needs. The result is that adult recreational needs are neglected.

D. Censor groups—religious, political, economic—make it hard for the teacher to draw up varied reading lists. Parents' study groups should be organized to study and combat harmful pressure groups.

E. Schools should be used for community recreation programs. We suggest that a community program should be started, privately supported if necessary, as an example of what can be done, using the school building. Policies should be decided only by the *community*, however. Labor groups should start such a project.

Civic Loyalty

A. Civic loyalty is loyalty to the democratic process. Loyalty is not blind obedience but should include open minds and criticism. Rights of minorities should be protected in a democracy.

B. Students have little self-government because teachers have little democracy. The apathy of students toward self-government results from the dropping of policies they initiate when these policies conflict with those of the administration. School democratic processes should be built up and school administrations democratized. Present parent-teacher associations are ineffective because they are controlled by the administration, discouraged in many neighborhoods.

C. Teachers who try to teach democracy are often penalized by pressure groups.

D. It was recommended that: (1) Pressure groups primed from community organizations should support the teacher mentioned above and others; (2) A liberal member, Howell Van Auken, should be elected to the Board of Education; (3) The Detroit Federation of Teachers and other labor groups should form democratic parent-teacher groups; (4) Schools should emphasize more the economic foundations of democracy; and (5) Another community conference should be called to discuss questions raised and not discussed for lack of time.

At several points the group reports were interrupted by heartfelt applause from the audience. There was little doubt that the reports might be taken as an almost unanimous expression of opinion of the whole conference.

Dr. Hilda Taba, of the School of Education of the University of Chicago, summarized the morning's discussion. She pointed out that the discussion clarified the community's problems. It asked and answered the questions: What kind of a society do we want? What kind of an individual shall we put into that society? She added that in "trying to get what we want," that is, working out group recommendations, much care would have to be ex-

ercised to use correct techniques with organized groups.

"Beware of 'either-or' thinking," warned Dr. Taba. "Look for the middle ground which is neither black nor white, but gray."

After luncheon a stillfilm, "Federal Aid to Education," was shown. This was the film prepared by Professor Maurer of the University of Michigan, and of which William D. Boutwell, Chief of the Division of Radio Publications and Exhibits of the U. S. Office of Education said, "The film strip is the best thing of its kind yet produced."

Local 231 does not intend its first community conference to be its last one. It is doubtful, indeed, whether those participating would allow it to forget the conference idea, so great and genuine was the interest aroused.

Wisconsin AFL Sponsors Educational Conference

S. Amelia Yeager

ON SATURDAY and Sunday, January 19 and 20, Madison, Wisconsin, was the scene of a most interesting conference, the Third Biennial Educational Conference, called by the State Federation of Labor and attended by delegates representing the Federation of Labor, the Wisconsin Federation of Teachers, Farmers' Equity Union, Railroad Brotherhoods, Midland Co-operative Wholesale, and the Central Co-operative Wholesale. The Midland, which has some 80,000 members in co-operative oil and grocery locals, participated for the first time in the series of conferences.

J. J. Handley, veteran secretary-treasurer of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, opened the Conference of delegates from all quarters of the state.

"The organized labor, farm, and co-operative groups have made steady gains during the past few years," said Mr. Handley, "and through the co-operation of the groups represented here we hope not only to keep these gains but to go forward."

Kenneth W. Hones of Farmers' Equity, a former university regent, was chosen chairman of the Conference. George W. Hall, a delegate from the State Federation of Labor, was chosen vice chairman. Mr. Hall is organizer for the Central Trades Council of LaCrosse and aided materially in organizing Wisconsin's newest local of the AFT. Howard Aker of the Wisconsin Federation of Teachers, to whom goes much credit for the friendly and active co-operation between the Teachers' Union and state and local labor organizations in Milwaukee, was made secretary.

Most of the Saturday morning session was devoted to proposals for committee action from the participating organizations. Henry Rutz, presenting the program of the State Federation of Labor, set the tone for the Conference when he declared that "government by the people demands better education of all the people."

On Saturday afternoon talks were given on NYA, co-operatives, vocational training, and the educational program of the AFL. Among the speakers who addressed the Conference were E. E. Schwartztrauber, director of the School for Workers, University of Wisconsin, C. L. Greiber, State Board of Vocational and Adult Education, Mark Muth, state director of the Works Progress Administration, I. R. Kuenzli, national secretary-treasurer of the AFT, E. H. Gibson of the NYA, and Chester Graham, educational director of co-operatives in Madison. Mr. Kuenzli was in attendance at the conference at the request of Mr. Green, president of the AFL.

The Wisconsin Federation of Teachers was represented by Harold Groves, professor of economics of the University of Wisconsin, Neal Billings of the Milwaukee Teachers College, and S. Amelia Yeager, national vice president of the AFT.

A copy of the program of each participating group as presented by its spokesman was put into the hands of the several committees set up by the Conference. These committees together with their advisors, experts in their fields who had been invited to give special information on the subjects to be dealt with, worked through Saturday evening formulating policies on which the various groups could unite. At the session on Sunday morning the recommendations of the committees were made to the delegate assembly and a program of action adopted.

Initial reports on Saturday morning showed considerable agreement among the delegates on many issues. For example, increased state aid in order to equalize more nearly educational opportunity for all groups in all sections of the state was demanded by every delegation. Likewise more aid was asked for colleges and the University so that salaries may be protected and fees reduced.

Delegates concurred in the demand that junior colleges be established, especially in rural areas, and that a county system of libraries be set up with adequate facilities for distributing books.

The delegates voted unanimously that the teacher tenure law and the retirement system for teachers must be saved and improved.

It was the consensus of the group that the tradition of free public education regardless of class, race, creed or financial status must be upheld, that compulsory military training in the schools be strongly opposed, and that education, farmers, and labor must be protected from the hysteria attendant upon the defense program so that past gains shall not be lost.

All the delegates were agreed that pupils should be acquainted in their school work with the contributions made to our culture by labor, farm, and co-operative organizations and that more stress should be laid on consumer education.

The urgent need for change in the systems of taxation now employed to produce needed revenue in order to relieve real estate from its disproportionate share and to put the burden on those best able to pay was recognized.

A revision in the distribution of utility taxes in Wisconsin was agreed upon as one badly needed reform. Organizations in the Conference were urged to fight general sales taxes because of fraud, evasion, expense and difficulty of collection as well as on the more obvious ground of injustice and oppression.

The complete proceedings of the Conference will be published as usual in pamphlet form by the Wisconsin Federation of Labor and distributed free of charge to all participating organizations and to libraries.

The idea of these biennial conferences originated in the standing committee on education of the State Federation of Labor in which members of the Federation of Teachers play an ever increasing role. The purpose of the conference is to work out a useful program of legislative action for education in advance of the legislative session. "The success of the first conference," said J. J. Handley on the occasion of the second one two years ago, "materially strengthened the position of the farmer and worker groups not only through joint legislative action but also through aiding these organizations in presenting their educational program to their membership."

State federations of the AFT and even individual locals where state federations do not exist may well consider a plan of action for their states similar to this one which has already proved its worth in Wisconsin.

Ridge Community Organizes in Defense of Education

Miriam Dismore

DOZENS OF civic, religious, and educational organizations co-operated to make a success of the large mass meeting, conducted as a School Clinic, held recently in the Ridge Community District of Chicago, and from it is being developed a large community group willing to fight for, and sacrifice for, public education.

It was some time after the breakdown of the Chicago schools in 1933 that a few people in our community began to realize and be concerned about the extent to which "spoils politics" had entered into the administration of our schools. In 1936 the high-school parent-teacher association of our district chose as its president a woman who had a thorough knowledge and conviction of the ideals and aims of education and, as the wife of a teacher, knew from personal contact the extent of the breakdown in the school system. She gathered around her a group of women sympathetic with her ideals who were willing to devote some time and thought to the problems relating to public education.

Before intelligent action can become effective, knowledge must be acquired; so these women agreed that the approach to the problem was through a series of study classes. To these classes came representatives from elementary-school parent-teacher associations and other women's groups as well as interested parents. The classes

covered subjects such as "The Chicago School Budget," "How Chicago Gets Her Teachers," "The Personnel Service in the Chicago Public Schools," and "The Otis Law," and were led by teachers and educators, all experts in their fields.

Out of these classes certain definite ideas developed. There was, first, the realization that the schools are not a closed corporation belonging to either the teachers or the administrators or the politicians but to all the people of our city, and should be administered alone for the welfare, training, and education of the children of our city. With this realization came the conviction that these problems could be solved if we were intelligent and alert and willing to make personal sacrifices.

When such an idea takes hold of a community, ways and means and methods of approach open up and progress is made. When the Board of Education through the superintendent of schools curtailed the high-school curriculum by eliminating one major subject in the first two years of high school, we made a study of the effect of such curtailment upon our young people and then summarized our study and conclusions in a letter which we distributed widely in our community. Remembering the Right of Petition made safe for us long years ago by the efforts of John Quincy Adams, we advised our parents to exercise this right and urged that if they agreed with the conclusions drawn in our letter they write the Mayor of our city and members of the Board of Education and the superintendent of schools asking that the restrictions on the curriculum be removed and the privilege of a full high-school program be restored to our young people. We know that many letters went from our community to the downtown city offices.

Again when it was determined by the Board of Education to have, in the pattern of the Nazi Youth Congress, a big mass graduation of all the high-school youth in Chicago, we contacted our parents through letters and asked that they write those in authority protesting such a violation of the spirit and purpose of commencement.

In the fall of 1939 we had brought home to our community a situation about which we had been hearing rumors for some time. Our high school, like most in Chicago, is much overcrowded; and we have a branch where some 250 to 300 freshmen are enrolled each semester. The freshmen entering in February, 1939, were taking four major subjects and in each had two or more different teachers during the semester. This same freshman class at the close of the second semester in February, 1940, had four different teachers in two major subjects, three different teachers in the third major, and two different teachers in a minor subject. All of this was the result of two permanent vacancies which were being filled with temporary teachers. After making this study and realizing how adolescents are handicapped by being introduced into high school under such unstable conditions, we again set forth our study and conclusions in a letter to our members, reminding them that it was their privilege to protest to those in authority about such shifting and unstable conditions in teacher personnel and to

request that permanent vacancies be filled by permanent, certificated teachers.

Meanwhile the problem of educating our community along the lines of ideals in public education has gone hand in hand with action. Public forums have been held on such subjects as "Where Are We Going in Public Education," "Spoils Politics in Public Education," "The Merit System," "The Place of the Junior High School in a Public School System," etc. The speakers on these forums were educators and teachers who could speak from a first hand knowledge of educational problems. By these methods interest and knowledge grew.

In the summer of 1940 there was a growing conviction on the part of a few women in parent-teacher association work that the time was ripe for concerted action. The president of the high-school parent-teacher association called together all the presidents of the local elementary parent-teacher associations and sold them the idea of the School Clinic. It was to be a time for the discussion of all problems relating to the merit system for teachers and the inbreeding of teachers which is one of the evils of spoils politics in public education. This idea took hold. An organization was formed and other groups were asked to co-operate—women's clubs, churches, civic groups, voters' groups. All worked, advertised and co-operated to make possible the big mass meeting of last fall. The community brought its patient, the ailing and enervated public school system, to a group of able diagnosticians, one a university professor, another a school principal, the third an executive secretary of a large teachers' organization. The patient was examined and a course of treatment recommended.

Such mass meetings are in themselves helpful and inspiring but fall short of their greatest usefulness if some permanent results do not come from them. It so happened that in the audience of this meeting was the chairman of the Education Committee of the Third Congressional District of the Illinois Federation of Women's Clubs, an organization of forty-nine clubs with a total membership of over 5,000 women. Through the efforts of this Education Committee chairman six of the larger clubs have undertaken to make detailed studies of the following educational problems: "The Merit System," "The Selection and Purchase of Textbooks," "The Selection and Training of Teachers," "Delinquency," "Public Support of Higher Education," and "The Lowering of the Teacher Load Due to Shifting of Population and Lower Birth Rate." These studies, valuable not only in themselves but also for the interest they create in a wider group of people, will be presented later in the year at other public meetings.

An outgrowth of our School Clinic which is perhaps even more valuable than surveys or studies was the establishment of a permanent committee on public education. This committee is made up of representatives from civic, religious, and educational organizations. It is responsible to the people of our community from whom it has received a mandate to investigate conditions, provide forums and meetings for discussion on school problems and organize

for action when action seems necessary. It is the machinery set up to make our civic participation in government more effective and the defense of our institutions more secure.

St. Louis Citizens Form Public Education Group

Milton C. Lauenstein

AFTER A NUMBER of discouraging years in the St. Louis public school system, it seemed imperative that an impartial expert survey be made and that the improvements indicated as a result of the survey be developed and safeguarded through organized public opinion. To this end the Citizens Committee Sponsoring the Survey initiated the idea of establishing the Public Education Association which was to co-ordinate the activities of many citizen groups interested in public education, whose individual sporadic efforts for better conditions, though at times successful, were not able to co-ordinate and maintain their gains.

The Association desired to conserve the many splendid features of our educational system as well as to raise the standards that had dropped through lack of information and indifference on the part of the public and to demand educational leadership of the highest quality.

There was at the outset full recognition that public education in the United States is our first line of defense against revolutionary world forces which threaten our democratic institutions. Therefore, in building the new organization, the major objective immediately became to guard the educational opportunities of the children of our community with intelligent watchfulness as part of the bulwark of American democracy. It was also apparent that in order to achieve this primary purpose public sentiment must be informed, strengthened and made aware of the dangers that threaten administrators and teachers. This sentiment must be translated into continuous and purposeful activity. This can be accomplished only if the organization is built on the broadest base possible and consecrated to the best interests of the children of the community.

After several preliminary meetings of interested individuals affiliated with city-wide groups, a committee on organization was appointed, March 25, 1940, and an invitation was sent to the presidents of St. Louis organizations of a civic, educational, fraternal, labor, patriotic, professional, religious and service nature. The invitation read in part: "The Citizens Committee Sponsoring the Survey has had as its objective, from its inception, the formation of a permanent Public Education Association, to bridge the gap between the public school system and the people. Developments in the public school situation precipitated by the recent survey make it advisable to take this action now."

Organizations were asked to send official delegates to a meeting with power to act within the scope of a pro-

posed very tentative constitution which accompanied the letter. This letter was signed by the chairman of the Citizens Committee Sponsoring the Survey, the president of The Missouri Taxpayers Association and a representative from the Metropolitan Church Federation of St. Louis. This meeting was attended by representatives from forty-three citizens' groups. A nominating committee was selected which brought in recommendations for nine temporary directors to serve only until a constitution and bylaws could be adopted and an election held thereunder. The following organizations, all city-wide, were represented on this temporary board: Citizens Committee Sponsoring the School Survey, General Council on Civic Needs, League of Women Voters of St. Louis, Metropolitan Church Federation of St. Louis, Missouri Taxpayers Association, Public School Playground Mothers Circle, St. Louis Chapter of the American Institute of Architects, St. Louis Industrial Union Council (CIO), and the Urban League.

Many meetings were held and ample opportunity given all organizations to express their views freely and fully regarding the proposed objectives and the provisions of the proposed constitution and bylaws, which did not become effective until every member organization had considered them within its own group and reported the vote of its organization through its accredited delegate. We quote some important sections from this constitution:

"The purpose of this association shall be to create and maintain among the citizens of St. Louis through education, and legislation when necessary, an active and continuous interest in our public school system to the end that the educational opportunities of the residents of St. Louis are developed in such a way as to meet the changing requirements."

"The association shall take a marked interest in the selection of members of the Board of Education amply qualified to ably and disinterestedly serve the public school system."

"The independent action of member organizations shall not be restricted or abridged."

"Neither the association nor any committee thereof shall be authorized to issue any public statement or otherwise purport to represent the various affiliated groups or organizations or parts thereof, on any subject until such time as the substance and details of same have been submitted for consideration to each affiliated group, and until action has been taken thereon by the appropriate governing body of the respective member group or organization within the time specified when the proposition was submitted."

Each member organization is entitled to one delegate and a first and second alternate, specifically designated at the time of appointment. All of them shall have the right of the floor on all questions but voting is on the basis of one vote for each member organization to be cast by the delegate, if present, otherwise by one of the alternates. There are no individual memberships and the dues are \$5.00 per year per member organization. There is a permanent board of twenty-seven directors, nine of whom are elected annually for a period of three years having the powers delegated to them in the constitution. They elect, from their number, a president, vice-president, secretary and treasurer, who thus become the officers of the Association. The Association and its Board hold a regular meeting each month from September through June.

A LETTER FROM ELSIE PARKER

The following letter from Mrs. Elsie Parker was received by Irvin Kuenzli, national secretary-treasurer of the AFT. Mrs. Parker may be reached at the National Union of Teachers, Asburton School, Freemans Road, Custon House, E. 16, England.

I HAVE READ with interest your journals, especially the one reporting your annual conference. What a long time ago it seems since I was with you and what a long time I think it will be before you get to a conference here.

I often wonder what you are thinking of the war. We received your cablegram last Saturday. It cheered us to think you were thinking of us. It does seem terrible that England and London have to be so battered—thousands of people are *censored* every day, *censored* innocent women and children are being killed *censored*.

I do wish you could write and tell me what you and the teachers are thinking of this war. I should like to know, and I should like the truth even if it is not good. It is so difficult to get real opinions, *censored*.

I know America has been very generous. Lots of clothes and food from America have found their way to us. I think of you always as I give away clothes and blankets marked American Red Cross.

This school was closed on September 4th and became a rest centre where I fed and housed hundreds of homeless people. Last week we opened school again—80 children where before I had had 580. And of a child population of 32,000 we have only 5,000 left in West Lake, the rest scattered all over the country, and still we get air raids every day and night. The day ones we can stand, but the nights are hard. Last night they were incessant. Yet the people are wonderful. There is no suggestion of giving in and there is no talk of defeat. Of course we must win, the poor folk say. It is *censored* how it

will all end. Air raids as bad as they are will not, I think, end this war and until the last few weeks there has been little sign of shortness of food or anything. Lately it has been difficult to get certain things and I am afraid it will get worse as more ships are being sunk unless there's a turn soon.

What does America intend to do? Not come in the war I gather. I cannot blame them as much as we want their help. I was on the Committee for sending children overseas. We were sorry to give it up, but the Atlantic was not and is not a safe place.

At one time I thought of asking some of you to have my daughter. She is in London at school and doesn't seem to mind the bombs. I have had to leave my flat and have gone about twelve miles out but still in the sound of the guns and the bombs. Michael is at school in Marlborough, so is in a fairly safe area.

The Union has moved its offices into the country and so we spend all our weekends trying to get there and do a little work and then back again. Teachers are having a difficult time because schools are closed in places like Dover, Folkstaire, and then we have to find them new jobs. So far quite successfully. Salaries have not been increased except 6 per cent on those under £260 (about \$1300) in spite of increased prices. We are trying to get more money. Men of under thirty have to go in the army so there is a shortage of men teachers. Some get their salary while in the army—others don't, thus causing much distress.

If you can help our 140 refugee teachers I should be pleased. They cannot get work easily and money is short. I think they would all prefer *censored*. Can you get any of them to America? I wish you could. Please remember me to all friends and write to us soon. I wonder if I shall come and see you again. Yours sincerely,
ELSIE PARKER

This Association, like all others, must have funds to carry on its activities. To this end it is about to launch a campaign to raise \$15,000 to carry on its present four-point program, namely:

(1) To support and actively work for the passage in the present session of the Missouri Legislature of a sound teacher retirement law. The proposed bill would include all permanent employees of the Board of Education. To keep the public informed as to its progress through the Legislature.

(2) To issue authentic and accurate information on the candidates who will present themselves shortly for election to the Board of Education in April of this year.

(3) To keep the public informed upon and work actively to maintain an adequate tax rate for St. Louis schools in the spring of 1942.

(4) To study the question of reorganization of the administrative departments of the school system through centralizing control in a chief executive officer, as well as the subject of reorganizing the Board of Education along the lines outlined in the recent exhaustive survey of the schools, looking toward the 1943 session of the Legislature.

Campaign literature is now being prepared for distribution. The campaign is unique in that it is proposed to obtain from 15,000 people of St. Louis exactly one dollar

each in support of the activities of the Association. For this contribution the donor is given a very attractive official receipt enrolling him among the 15,000 supporters of the work of the Association. They are not members, because there are no individual memberships. Not only will this provide a budget adequate for the present requirements but it will underwrite the organization with something even more valuable, evidence of widespread public support. The solicitation began February 1 and will continue until February 28, unless the goal is reached prior to that.

It is the Association's purpose to keep the citizens informed and interested in public-school affairs to the end that the St. Louis schools regain the outstanding reputation for excellence they had attained under the leadership of Superintendents Harris, Blewett, Soldan and Withers.

There are now seventy-four organizations affiliated with the Association and a number of others are under consideration. A number of committees are at work studying various phases of public education on which they will make reports when the studies are completed.

The interest evinced by the splendid attendance at regular meetings and the animated participation in the discussion of problems gives great promise that this Association will become a strong and constructive force in public education in St. Louis.

Teachers Union in Action

(Continued from page 2)

in our publications and in our programs we can encourage attitudes of discussion and debate on matters of policy and beware the shortcuts of authoritarianism. In democracy there is no substitute for thoughtfulness on the part of many, no guaranty against propaganda except enlightened opinion. In our search for wise action, we must not encourage the methods of fascism under guise of fighting fascism. As a University we have an obligation to provide an atmosphere in which truth may emerge. As individuals we have our obligation to inquire; the right to speak is not greater than the person's duty to inform himself.

Furthermore, we must not leave our sources of information to chance. Lectures on interpretation of affairs should not be determined only by the availability of itinerant campaigners. There should be a strenuous effort to bring to the campus speakers whose spirit of candid inquiry is known.

(2) *We can safeguard academic freedom and civil liberties.* "Truth," as President Roosevelt has said, "is found by men who are free to pursue it." A narrower definition may shackle our intelligence. Surely the degree of academic freedom we possess will be related to the extent of civil liberties in the state. Because of that relation, and because of our duties as citizens, we must do what we can to preserve and extend the rights of free expression. As a group of scholars seeking the truth, the faculty can extend among themselves attitudes of friendliness and co-operation. The majority must not howl down the man who feels in his heart he must speak. In the past the paths of truth have been strewn with victims of majority intolerance. As scholars, aware of injustices in the past and attuned to the struggle in our fields of knowledge through the ages, we should maintain among ourselves a spirit of tolerance. The student, too, should enjoy this tolerance; for the degree of freedom he receives in the University becomes multiplied many times in the community where he asserts habits learned in college. We must not disparage or suspect students who are sincerely critical of rhetorical appeals in the name of democracy. To do so would be to jeopardize the true defense of democracy itself.

(3) *We can strengthen democratic procedures in the University.* Here we can make a positive demonstration of our faith in ways democratic. Elective department chairmen, genuine student

government, increased representation of faculty and student opinion in matters of University policy—these are ways in which individual responsibility may be strengthened and official actions may be guided by community intelligence.

(4) *We can strengthen our faith in democracy.* In crisis, democracy must be developed, not curtailed, if it is to defend itself. True democrats will resist the view that, in danger, democracy must be protected by a ruthless autocracy. Efficient democracy can defend itself. The correction of the shortcomings of democracy lies not in dictatorship but in vigorous democracy. The student who is cynical because of defects in our social system must be given a positive faith in working toward the correction of those defects.

(5) *We can work against the perils within our country while we prepare to defend it against dangers without.* Great social issues in America remain unsolved. They must not be obscured by exclusive concern with perils abroad. We must oppose the view that in this emergency we can not correct social and economic defects; for these defects, if uncorrected, are as great a peril as any enemy military force. Our knowledge and our energies must be used to bring about greater economic democracy. More and more of the good things of life must be brought to more and more people. Our greatest defense lies in a vigorous people, whose patriotism is founded upon co-operation and upon the sharing of our abundance. We do not defend ourselves by arms alone.

* * *

1 CHICAGO, ILL.—The 1941 budget of the Chicago Board of Education has been passed by the Board and reinforced by legislation at the current session of the legislature with a slight gain and no loss in funds for educational expenditures.

Forty-five speakers were heard at the public hearing held January 10 in the city-council chambers. A wide range of support for progressive educational policies was presented, as well as open resentment against the use of schools for political rewards. Concrete proposals for economies in purchasing, reduction of overhead costs, and the need for extension of facilities for actual instruction were stressed. There were special presentations of the need for a four-year college and for relief from the overcrowding in the double-shift schools of the South Side, where most of the stu-

dents are Negroes. Several citizens voiced direct criticisms of the Board's proposal for a new board to conduct oral examinations which was made in December, presumably to weaken the arguments for the legislation the Union is recommending to revise the whole Board-of-Examiners' set up. The Board was urged to take an active part in revising the unworkable property-tax system of the state and the wasteful method of distributing the small state school fund.

John Fewkes, president of the Chicago Teachers Union, presented the position of its 8,035 members. He pointed out that Chicago teachers had contributed \$70,000,000 to help reestablish the school finances of the city since their collapse in 1931, a sufficient amount for one entire year's expenditures at the present rate. The highest cut was 23.5 per cent of which 7.5 per cent still remains. He urged constructive action on the whole tax situation of the state lest we continue "muddling through."

There are five separate funds set up by the state legislature for the schools of Chicago. Of these, the educational fund is the largest. Aside from a comparatively small sum of rent, approximately \$3,500,000 from the state school fund (from the general sales tax!), the funds for Chicago schools must come from the uniform general property tax. The levy needed for this year at the present rate of expenditures is \$52,000,000. Since 1933, the tax rate set by the legislature has been hopelessly inadequate because of the disastrous fall in valuation. Moreover, the taxes were two full years behind in collection, and less than 70 per cent were paid on time. To make possible continued operation of schools, the legislature set a given figure for the year's income rather than a tax rate, so that budgets could be made on a non-mythical basis.

This year the legislature has passed such a measure, called a pegged levy, for \$52,000,000 which guarantees no retrenchment. The Speaker of the House conferred with Mr. Fewkes and Miss Taggart, and the president of the Board, the secretary of the IEA, and the Governor came to an understanding in Governor Green's office as to eventual pay restoration. The bill was watched carefully by the Union through passage and signature, and there is no danger of a failure of pay for the coming weeks.

Not only is the economic security of the teachers now protected for three years with a real prospect of restoration, but essential services are not to be cut, and the fall in enrollment will make possible valuable and needed expansion.

New Vocational Education Programs

This is the first of a series of articles on vocational education and national defense. It is presented as information and not as an evaluation.

SINCE JUNE, 1940, our Federal Government has appropriated millions of dollars for a four-point program of vocational training for national defense. A large part of this program is under the jurisdiction of the United States Office of Education.

I

Since the passage of the Smith-Hughes Bill in 1917, almost a billion dollars has been invested in public trade schools and equipment. Over 1,000 of these schools, with facilities for teaching courses vital to national defense, are being used for afternoon and evening classes. More than 100,000 students, ranging from eighteen to sixty years in age, mostly men, are already enrolled. They have all had work experience and about one-third are employed at present, but they are returning to night school for "refresher" courses and to learn additional skills. About 20,000 of these trainees are from WPA rolls and are allowed to attend evening training classes without losing their WPA status.

These short courses, lasting from six to twelve weeks, cannot turn out experts but can help a man with previous work experience to become proficient at a specific operation.

The trades important to national defense involved in this program are forging, aircraft, sheet metal, auto-

motive, foundry, ordnance, shipbuilding, woodworking, machine tools, electrical, ammunition, and chemical manufacturing.

The U. S. Commissioner of Education, Dr. John W. Studebaker, has given to the state departments of vocational education the responsibility of supervising this program. Advisory committees, composed of representatives from labor and industry, were established in many localities. It is the responsibility of these committees to see that trainees are acceptable to industry after their training is completed, to advise in the selection of new and additional equipment when needed for the shops, to see that the classes are justified on the basis of the needs of industries involved in the national defense program in their communities, and to see that trainees are employed when their training is completed.

By October, 1940, over 1,300 such advisory committees were functioning, according to the U. S. Office of Education.

II

To make vocational-training facilities available to 300,000 workers, \$7,500,000 was appropriated. This type of training is not to be confused with the NYA out-of-school program. Under this arrangement the state boards for vocational education provide the instructions. Courses in blueprint reading and shop arithmetic and basic training in vocations most valuable to defense activities will be given. This method of training will also provide

on-the-job work experience by the production of goods to be used by public-sponsoring agencies who will furnish the necessary materials. Most of the trainees in this group will be either unemployed high-school graduates or young people sent to these training centers by the state employment agencies. They will receive training for approximately twelve weeks, during which time they will receive about \$18 a month. Thousands of students are already signed up for these classes.

III

For the Engineering Defense Training program, Congress has appropriated nine million dollars, which will pay for short intensive training of college level in order to meet the shortage of engineers with specialized training needed for national defense. This program will also be administered by U. S. Commissioner Studebaker and will be under the general supervision of Paul V. McNutt, Federal Security Administrator. The policies of this program will be checked by an Advisory Committee of eleven engineering educators of which A. A. Potter, Dean of the School of Engineering at Purdue, is chairman.

The Federal Government pays the tuition fee for each student, who will, however, be expected to maintain himself and buy his own textbooks. The U. S. Civil Service Commission, the state and federal employment officers and the college placement bureaus will try to place all who complete these courses. Classes will be held during the day and at night, and the courses will vary in length.

Each school will determine the admission requirements and will be the sole judge of the qualifications of the students.

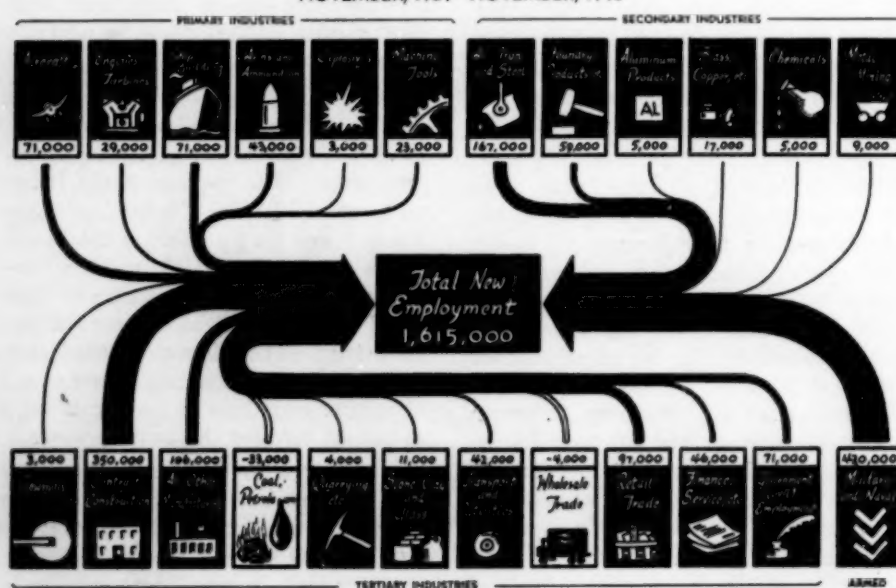
There are 444 courses now available given by 91 engineering colleges in 44 states, District of Columbia and Puerto Rico.

IV

To give unemployed youths on farms an opportunity to benefit by these various programs, appropriations have been made to set up training centers in many rural towns to which the trainees could commute daily. The expense of transportation will be absorbed by the appropriation. Such training centers are vitally important because hundreds of factories are being erected in rural communities, and it is therefore important that these people be trained in their own localities where they can be absorbed by these industries.

SAMUEL BARTH.

EMPLOYMENT CHANGES GROUPED ACCORDING TO IMPORTANCE TO NATIONAL DEFENSE
NOVEMBER, 1939—NOVEMBER, 1940



U. S. Labor Department

Courtesy University of Chicago Round Table

On the Labor Front

Edited from the
Labor Press and
the Federated Press

KATHARINE HEPBURN, ON TOUR in Evansville, Ind., with *The Philadelphia Story*, awakened from an afternoon nap at Hotel McCurdy to find herself behind a picket line. Culinary workers had struck to protest the firing of two employees for union activity.

Informed by telephone of the situation, Miss Hepburn said: "I'll have to move—that's my side of the fence." Within an hour the actress had moved bag and baggage to the Vendome Hotel, a close competitor of the McCurdy. Representatives of the Hotel & Restaurant Employees International Alliance (AFL) later conveyed their expressions of appreciation.

Harold F. Van Orman, head of the Van Orman Hotels System and owner of the McCurdy, was considerably put out by the star's departure. But the incident was a source of amusement to the public, which has been familiar with Van Orman's tirades against labor since he was lieutenant governor of Indiana.

★

FACED WITH PENDING "ANTI-sabotage" bills, "home-guard" bills and other labor-wrecking measures in state legislatures, AFL and CIO unions in many areas have held joint legislative conferences to offset these threats. Joint committees are not only preparing to defend themselves against attack but are at the same time carrying the fight to the enemy by initiating pro-labor bills and campaigning for their enactment into law.

Unity among labor groups on such issues has swept the country in recent weeks. Joint conferences have been held or are scheduled for an early date in Massachusetts, Delaware, New Jersey, Missouri, Iowa, Utah, Connecticut, Washington, New Hampshire, New York and Pennsylvania. Typical is the United Labor Committee formed in St. Louis by AFL, CIO and railroad unions. This group, set up during the recent election to campaign for President Roosevelt, is now functioning as a body seeking passage of pro-labor legislation in Missouri. Asserting that in the past duplicate bills were introduced in the legislature because labor organizations acted separately, President Joseph P. Clark of the Central Trades & Labor Union said: "At the last session of the legislature we got exactly nowhere because of the duplication of effort. This session we hope to eliminate the duplicate bills and put forward a united support."

Legislative demands of the St. Louis unions include a little Wagner act, a state wage-hour law, an anti-injunction law and amendment to the unemployment compensation law.

Iowa's three principal labor organizations, the Iowa State Federation of Labor, the Iowa-Nebraska States Industrial Union Council and the railroad brotherhoods, have united in the formation of the Federated Labor Legislative Council of Iowa, to present a united front of labor's legislative desires in both the state assembly and the national congress.

President Al Couch of the State Federation of Labor, chairman of the new council, said its work will not conflict with individual legislative wishes of any of the three major groups represented. "The three groups will join in labor and social legislation activities applying generally to all three organizations, but each group will continue to have its own legislative committees specializing on legislation of particular interest to that group," Couch said.

The joint legislative program has six major points: (1) a slum clearance program, allowing Iowa to participate in the U. S. Housing Authority's program; (2) changes in the workmen's compensation act; (3) larger unemployment compensation benefits; (4) civil service for state, county and city employees; (5) enactment of a prevailing wage law covering public contracts; and (6) strengthening of the child labor laws.

Organized labor in Michigan is united in fighting the proposed anti-sabotage bill, now in the hands of the senate judiciary committee. AFL and CIO leaders see eye to eye in condemning the bill as unwarranted invasion of democratic rights of the public and the workers.

Secretary John Reid of the Michigan State Federation of Labor (AFL) testified that the bill was unnecessary and dangerous. It gives city and town authorities power to close public roads around defense plants and gives the power to arrest to guards hired and paid by employers. It is easy to see how

Why I Buy Union-Made Goods

by ANDREW JUVINALL

Pastor San Rafael Methodist Church and Fraternal Delegate
to Marin County Central Labor Council

I am a minister. The other day I went into a store to buy some overalls. A clerk, whom I had married recently, waited on me. After he had shown some of his stock, I asked, "Don't you have any with the union label?"

"I'll see," he said, "but I didn't know that mattered to you."

It does! For four reasons:

First, I believe in justice. Jesus was right, "The workman is worthy of his hire." I want to be sure when I buy a suit or a pair of overalls that my brother who made the garment was paid a decent wage. The only way I can be sure is to demand the union label.

Second, I want clothes of decent quality. I want suits you don't have to grow into. I want seams that don't rip when I stretch. I want shirts that can be worn after they're washed. Union label clothes wear better, fit better, look better.

Third, I want clothes made under sanitary conditions. Pure food laws protect our food. Closed shop conditions protect our clothing and guarantee the article was made in a clean factory rather than in a germ-infested sweat shop.

Fourth, I buy union label goods because I believe in democracy. Citizens have a right to run their country; workers have a right to help run their jobs and determine working conditions.

When I buy union label goods, then, I help myself; I help the union; I help the good employer; I help my country.

irresponsible anti-labor employers would use that power, Reid said.

President R. J. Thomas of the United Auto Workers (CIO) agreed with Reid in branding the bill as unnecessary and dictatorial. He called it discriminatory in that ordinary citizens and workers come under the sabotage provisions, with heavy penalties, while employers do not.

★

ATTEMPTS OF THE GREAT ATLANTIC & PACIFIC TEA COMPANY to stall off a State Labor Relations Board poll among its 4,000 employees in the New York area received a setback when Supreme Court Justice Louis A. Valente denied the firm an injunction to restrain the board from holding the election on February 15.

Valente also upheld the board in ordering a preliminary poll to determine whether the 1,000 butchers wanted to be represented separately by the Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butchers Workmen (AFL) or whether they wanted to bargain with the clerks. The company is expected to appeal.

★

LEGISLATIVE TAMPERING WITH the right to strike in defense industries would encounter solid opposition from all branches of the labor movement, the latest Federated Press Poll of Labor Editors shows. Nine out of ten editors answered "Yes" to each part of this question: "Would you approve of a strike in a defense industry for: Enforcement of Federal labor laws? Maintenance of hour standards? Defense of wage standards? Union recognition?"

Heaviest approval (95 per cent) was placed on strikes for fair wages, closely followed by a 93 per cent vote in favor of strikes to maintain hour standards.

On the opposite page are reproduced six cartoons dealing with the problems of organized labor in the current national crisis, which appeared in many labor publications. By contrast on this page appears a series of items indicating how trade-union activities are treated in the daily metropolitan press.

For a complete story of the activities of organized labor, teachers must turn to the labor press, the spokesman today for more than eight million trade unionists and millions of other workers. Not only must teachers rely upon the labor press for information but organized teachers must turn to these publications for assistance in building their own labor organization. Moreover, to provide school children with information not available in the regular press, labor papers should find a spot on every school library shelf.

G. T. G.

CIO editors were more emphatic than AFL editors in advocacy of the right to strike for any of the four reasons listed, but all editors showed virtual unanimity in a vote of "No" on a second question: "Do you favor legislation to outlaw all strikes in defense industries?"

Only one editor was undecided on the question of anti-strike legislation, and the largest percentage of blanks or undecided votes on any other question was only 7 per cent in the case of strikes for union recognition. Percentages in the following table do not include the few blank votes:

| | APPROVE OF STRIKES TO: | | | |
|--------------------|------------------------|-----|---------------|----|
| | Enforce Laws | | Protect Hours | |
| | YES | NO | YES | NO |
| ALL PAPERS... | 89% | 11% | 93% | 7% |
| AFL | 82 | 18 | 90 | 10 |
| CIO | 97 | 3 | 97 | 3 |
| Unaffiliated | 100 | 0 | 100 | 0 |
| AFL-CIO | 75 | 25 | 75 | 25 |

| | APPROVE OF STRIKES TO: | | | |
|--------------------|------------------------|----|--------------------|-----|
| | Defend Wages | | Obtain Recognition | |
| | YES | NO | YES | NO |
| ALL PAPERS... | 95% | 5% | 86% | 14% |
| AFL | 92 | 8 | 74 | 26 |
| CIO | 100 | 0 | 97 | 3 |
| Unaffiliated | 100 | 0 | 100 | 0 |
| AFL-CIO | 75 | 25 | 75 | 25 |

The overwhelming insistence upon labor's right to strike may puzzle those outside the labor movement, especially persons who have read the bombastic utterances of certain congressmen. What the vote reveals is a hard-headed conviction that the only protector of the workingman is the workingman himself.

★

A PROTEST TO THE *Des Moines Register* in Iowa on an anti-labor cartoon which it ran recently was made by the Des Moines Trades and Labor Assembly. The cartoon, by J. N. Darling (Ding), depicted two "labor racketeers" at the entrance of a defense factory, collecting initiation fees by threat and coercion from a long line of workers.

The *Des Moines Federationist*, local AFL paper, commented: "The utter unfairness of the cartoon to Des Moines labor unions is realized when it is known that instead of raising their initiation fees to exorbitant levels when the defense speedup began, a large number, if not all, of Des Moines locals reduced them."

★

A VIGOROUS ATTACK ON THE treatment of labor news by the Peoria, Ill., commercial press is contained in the January 24 issue of the *Labor Temple News*, official publication of the Peoria Trades and Labor Assembly. In a story headed "The Subsidized Press 'Finds' a News Story," the labor paper criticized the way in which the *Peoria Journal-Transcript* handled the story of a \$25,000 damage suit against the local

of the Operative Plasterers International Association (AFL). The suit was filed by James Mahan, who had been expelled from the union for disruptive activities.

"Union news, such as raises won in pay or exposure of chiseling employers, usually doesn't get much rating in the local Peoria newspapers," the labor paper said. "But when an opportunity arises to twist and garble the facts about a union involved in a court trial, the *Peoria Journal-Transcript* goes the limit in distorting and omitting highly important testimony."

★

BECAUSE NO PAPER IN THE state carried a story on an NLRB decision declaring the Phelps Dodge Company, Douglas, Ariz., guilty of unfair practices at its local smelter, the union was forced to get the story to the people via leaflets and sound truck. The union, Local 470, International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers (CIO), distributed several thousand leaflets describing the case and telling how the *Douglas Dispatch* refused to print the news. A sound truck covered the streets of this desert town, giving further details.

Six days after the opinion of the board had been given, a union committee called on John A. Curry, editor of the *Dispatch*. Curry said his reason for not printing the story was that the paper did not take sides in labor disputes. A member of the union committee recalled that when the U. S. circuit court of appeals upheld an NLRB order against Phelps Dodge's Bisbee operations, the *Dispatch* devoted half a column to an attack on the ruling by Harry Lavender, general manager of the company. Curry then requested a copy of the board decision. A copy was given to him, but still not a word about the decision was printed.

★

WHILE CONGRESS KEPT THE Neely-Keller mine inspection bill pigeonholed, death struck more heavily at the miners in the first ten months of 1940 than in 1939. The December issue of *Labor Notes*, published by Labor Research Association, shows that the death toll of 1,120 was 26 per cent greater than for the same period last year when 885 men were killed in U. S. coal mines.

The three worst disasters of 1940 wiped out a total of 226 men. These were the explosions at Bartley, W. Va. (91 dead), Neffs, Ohio (72), and Cambria County, Pa. (63). Yet these deaths represent only a part of the tragedy, *Labor Notes* points out. Left behind in the three explosions were 163 widows and 368 orphans, a total of 531 lives blighted by the stubborn opposition of

mine operators to federal safety regulations.

The Neely-Keller bill was brought to the floor when 218 congressmen signed a petition to discharge it from a recalcitrant committee, but coal operators persuaded fifteen of the signers that it was all a big mistake. They withdrew their signatures.

★

ENTHUSIASTIC APPLAUSE greeted Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt when she addressed some 1,500 workers in the sixth month of their strike against the Leviton Manufacturing Company in Brooklyn, New York. Mrs. Roosevelt spoke at the New National Hall in the Greenpoint section, described by social workers as one of the worst slum districts in the city. She was accompanied by Mrs. Henry Morgenthau, wife of the secretary of the treasury, and by President Rose Schneiderman, of the Women's Trade Union League.

"I've always been interested in organization for labor," Mrs. Roosevelt told the strikers. "I have always felt that it was important for everyone who was a worker to join in labor organization because the ideals of the organized labor movement are high ideals. I wish we had an employers' educational project, just as we have workers' educational projects. I hope the day will come when all the people of this country will understand that co-operation will bring us greater happiness and will bring us in the end a better life for the whole country and a greater influence on the world as a whole."

★

SHOWING MUCH GREATER interest in their economic affairs than their political affairs, over 90 per cent of the 590,000 workers eligible to participate voted in the 1,192 elections conducted by the National Labor Relations Board during the year ended June 30, 1940, according to a recent report. This percentage of those voting was much higher than the percentage of eligibles voting in the 1940 presidential election.

Figures covering elections conducted by the board during the last fiscal year show that the AFL won 52.5 per cent of the elections in which it participated while the CIO won 58.8 per cent of its elections. Voting for the AFL in the elections which it won were 70,700 workers. Voting for the CIO in its successful elections were 313,852. The larger number voting for the CIO was accounted for in part by the General Motors election involving 130,000 and the Chrysler election involving 50,000.

The CIO participated in 692 elections of which it won 407 while the AFL participated in 734 elections of which it won 386. Unaffiliated national unions won 45 out of 115 elections while unaffiliated local unions won 83 out of 134

elections. Cast against the AFL in the 348 elections it lost were 272,739 votes while cast against the CIO in the 285 elections it lost were 133,384 votes.

The number of elections held by the board increased from 746 to 1,192 while the number of workers participating increased almost threefold, from 207,597 to 590,000. In 921 of the elections some form of union organization was successful. In only 271 cases did workers vote for no union.

★

PROFITS OF THE NINE LARGEST steel companies in the country in 1940 more than doubled 1939 profits, a comparison by the *Wall Street Journal* shows.

The net profit per net ton of capacity last year was \$3.28 as compared with \$1.63 per net ton of capacity in 1939. The 1939 figure was made on the basis of 1940 capacity. In dollars the 1940 figure was \$229,801,298 after depreciation, depletion, interest, taxes and all other deductions. The comparable 1939 figure was \$114,367,479. Inland Steel made the best showing, it was reported, with profits of \$4.38 per net ton of capacity. National Steel (Weir) made \$4.20 a ton, Bethlehem \$4.10 a ton and U. S. Steel, \$3.43 a ton.

The dollar figures were:

| | 1940 | 1939 |
|--------------------|---------------|--------------|
| U. S. Steel | \$102,181,321 | \$41,226,039 |
| Bethlehem | 48,677,524 | 24,638,384 |
| Republic | 21,113,507 | 10,671,343 |
| Jones & Laughlin | 10,277,029 | 3,188,944 |
| National | 15,066,340 | 12,581,636 |
| Youngstown S. & T. | 10,815,468 | 5,004,484 |
| Inland | 14,450,385 | 10,931,016 |
| Wheeling | 5,663,930 | 5,560,763 |
| Pittsburgh | 1,555,794 | 564,870 |

The Steel Workers Organizing Committee (CIO) is at present trying to raise wages in the steel industry.

★

INCOME PAYMENTS TO INDIVIDUALS in the United States during 1940, totaling \$74,300,000,000, were larger than in any year since 1930, and 6 per cent above the aggregate of \$70,100,000,000 for 1939, Secretary of Commerce Jesse H. Jones announced recently.

Although 1940 income was 10 per cent below the 82-billion-dollar mark reached in 1929 the 1940 total compares favorably with the earlier year in terms of real income, since the lower level of consumer income during 1940 was entirely owing to lower prices in the later year. Even after allowance for the growth in population over the past eleven years, per capita real income during 1940 was approximately the same as in 1929, Jones contended.

Wages and salaries in the past year were slightly in excess of 47 billions as compared with 44.4 billions for 1939. This increase was largely concentrated in commodity-producing industries—mining, manufacturing, construction and agriculture. Payrolls in this group of industries advanced 10 per cent during

1940, and accounted for about 60 per cent of the increase in employees' income over the preceding year, though they represented only 36 per cent of such income in 1939.

While interest payments in 1940 were little changed from those of 1939, dividends last year rose substantially, from 4,286 millions to 4,888 millions. This 14 per cent increase was larger than the gain in any other type of income, and the total was only moderately lower than the 4,957 millions recorded in 1937.

★

ASSERTING THAT "THE UPS AND downs of public hysteria caused by fortunes of war and the consequent fear of American involvement charted the course of civil liberties during 1940," the American Civil Liberties Union predicted an increased curtailment of civil rights in 1941. The forecast was part of a survey of trends during the past year. In the forty-three state legislatures meeting this year, "scores of proposals will doubtless be introduced for restrictions on minority or labor rights in the alleged interest of national defense," the ACLU warned.

"The right to strike in defense industries is under attack, curtailment of the powers of the NLRB will doubtless be brought sharply before congress, the Dies committee will inevitably demand a continuation of its investigation with proposals for restrictive legislation."

On the minus side of its review of gains and losses in civil liberties in 1940 the ACLU lists: (1) "unprecedented legislation" aimed at Communists and German American Bundists, including the barring of members of both organizations from employment on WPA; (2) passage, for the first time since 1798, of a federal sedition act; (3) vigilantism against Jehovah's Witnesses in 335 communities in 44 states; and (4) unprecedented curtailment of rights of minority parties in the presidential election.

On the plus side, the ACLU reported that "the record of courts on civil liberties during 1940 was strikingly favorable. The U. S. Supreme Court upheld the right of picketing in labor disputes and indirectly knocked out the Oregon anti-picketing law adopted by voters in 1938. In three cases it sustained the rights of Negroes to a fair trial."

The League for Industrial Democracy made a somewhat similar report after its own survey. Among the setbacks listed were increased "hysteria and witch-hunting," elimination of the NLRB research division, attempts in city, state and national governments to slash funds for education, health, housing and recreation, the continuance of the AFL-CIO split, and the increasing dependence of the national economy on war industry.

Among the New Books

SPEAK UP FOR DEMOCRACY, by EDWARD L. BERNAYS.
New York: Viking Press. 128 pages. \$1.00.

Edward L. Bernays, who for many years has served various American industries and industrial groups as a public relations counsellor, has written what is essentially a handbook to guide American citizens who in this time of crisis wish to utilize publicity techniques and channels of communication to achieve a mass public opinion for democracy.

In a brief foreword Mr. Bernays states his goal clearly: the creation of arms to defend America and, during the period of creation, the taking of measures to counteract anti-democratic propaganda from within and without the nation. Much of what Mr. Bernays presents in this brief handbook is useful; for example, he stresses the importance of planning events which dramatize democracy, the need for an engineering approach to a campaign for defending democracy, an approach which keeps in mind group interests, which recognizes the value of surveys of public opinion, which takes into account campaign strategy. He tells how holidays and other special occasions may be utilized as springboards for publicity for democracy, tells how local anniversaries and landmarks may be thus utilized in celebration. He gives directions for establishing good relations with the press, keying stories for the various departments of newspapers, tells how to prepare a newspaper story, how to time and how to handle its release. He discusses publicity by direct mail, pamphlets and leaflets. He shows how forum discussions and round-table talks fit into a public relations campaign for democracy. He gives valuable suggestions of what to do and what not to do in connection with radio programs. He stresses the importance of having America's youth vitally interested in democracy.

The appendix presents information of value to anyone interested in public relations for the democratic cause. Here are found the texts of basic American documents, important statements of principles by various patriotic groups dedicated to democracy. Here one may find also the important channels of communication—press, cinema, news services, religious publications—listed for ready reference. Here, too, are handy lists of associations and societies, the prestige of which may be carried over to the great campaign.

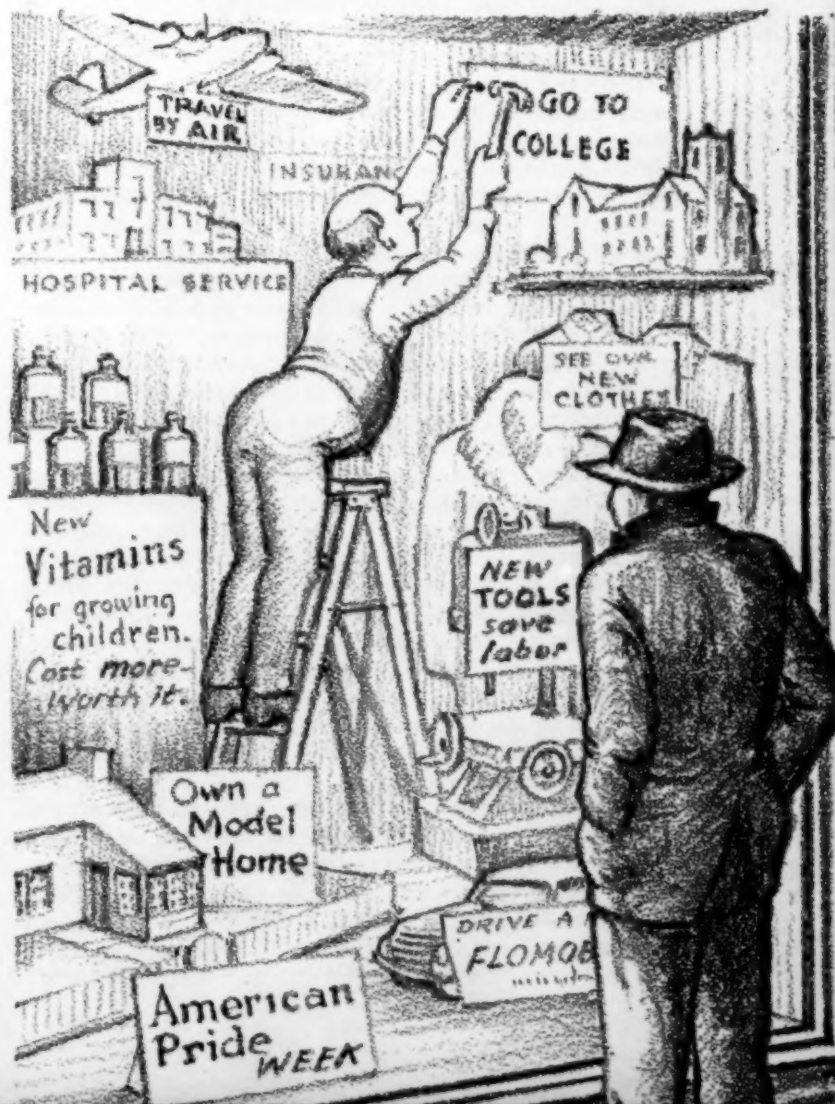
All of this factual information is in handy reference form, not only for those who would speak up for democracy but for those who in the name of democracy may use subtle propaganda against it. Mr. Bernays is aware of this. He refers to the dangers of vigilante committees and illegal actions. He is aware, too, that Fascism may come to America under the name of Americanism.

"We must guard against that," he says, "by being careful that the symbols we use convey the meanings we want them to." Mr. Bernays recognizes that the millions of unemployed and the low standard of living of "one-third of the nation" comprise fertile soil for demagogues who would urge totalitarianism as a remedy for the imperfections in our social, political and economic life. He says democracy has provided the mechanism whereby adverse economic, social and political conditions can be remedied through education, persuasion and compromise. Nonetheless, seeing all this and frankly admitting it—indeed, proclaiming it—Mr. Bernays puts the emphasis on words, on *speaking up* rather than on prompt elimination of economic, political and social conditions which deny or destroy democracy.

Quite aside to the threat to democracy from without, a threat against which the nation is building strong military

defenses, there remains this more serious threat from within. Primarily, this grows out of mass unemployment, a condition which neither free enterprise nor democratic government has been able to remove since it descended upon us ten years ago. It was the same mass unemployment which was a primary cause for the rise of Hitler in Germany and the support of Hitler and Fascism by important industrialists, journalists, statesmen, churchmen and educators in France, Britain, and even in the United States. That support of Hitler ended democracy in France, brought it to dire peril in England, and threatened it in America. The eminent citizens in these various nations who saw in Fascism a necessary defense mechanism against Communism, who succumbed to Hitler's propaganda that democracy was the way to Communism, who gave Hitler help in building his army and air force, who supported him openly or secretly in his conquests of Spain, Austria, and Czechoslovakia, contributed mightily to the defeat of democracy in Europe and in America.

Mr. Bernays' volume might have been more useful if he had more clearly revealed how mass unemployment endangers democracy. He might well have shown specifically how dangerous is the disparity between democratic words and the lack of democratic actions. He might have shown how some of our most prominent upholders of "free enterprise," men in positions of high influence in the various groups and associations he lists in his appendix, have themselves helped markedly to create a regimentation of individuals in the name of economic efficiency. He might have shown how such efficiency, helpful



for the individual enterprise, has created vast social problems when it failed to produce work for America's millions and sufficient purchasing power for Americans to maintain the standard of living which had characterized the nation and our industry prior to the great depression.

In short, one gets the feeling in reading Mr. Bernays' handbook that, while admitting the dangers of unemployment, he ignores the basic importance of ending unemployment if democracy is to be saved. Obviously, it can't be saved by words alone; nor can it be saved by putting the unemployed into a vast army. The basic question which Mr. Bernays does not discuss but which is most pertinent to whether or not democracy can survive is whether there can be democracy under an economic system or under a government which permits millions to remain in economic insecurity and distress. These people cannot eat the United States Constitution, they cannot clothe themselves with the Declaration of Independence, they cannot educate their children with the Bill of Rights—unless the Declaration of Independence, the United States Constitution, and the Bill of Rights are translated into living realities instead of merely being talked about in a campaign for speaking up for democracy.

Mr. Bernays senses this, and for one who has given so many years to counselling the great men of American industry, it is comforting to know that he even senses it and sees how this great disparity between words and realities can be used by demagogues wanting to destroy democracy. Perhaps, if a new edition of his book is printed, he will include a chapter which drives home this most important of all points to be considered in saving and extending democracy by making it work.

CLYDE R. MILLER

* * *

RACE: SCIENCE AND POLITICS, by RUTH BENEDICT.

New York: Modern Age. 274 pages. \$2.50.

THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF PRIMITIVE PEOPLES, by

MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 492 pages. \$4.50.

The essential contents of Professor Benedict's book are not new. But it is a document written so beautifully for the lay reader, so timely and important in social and political implications, and so nearly perfect from the scientist's point of view that it may become a contribution of historic dimensions. Once started it cannot be put down until it has been read through. Like her worthy predecessors, Professors Boas, Klineberg, and others, Professor Benedict has performed anew a priceless service for certain goals which we hold dear in her fashioning of a tool of science for popular as well as pedagogical utilization, a book for varying ages and backgrounds. No matter how much we think we may know about that almost indefinable entity called race, this book gives many phrases more apt than we had before.

Since Boas' classic *Mind of Primitive Man* first appeared in 1911 it has been an established generalization that proof was not likely to be found for any belief in race differences of a major kind. There is no evidence for the presence of measurable or significantly large mental differences among human regional populations. Such differences had long been supposed to be present and were often thought, erroneously, to be caused by inherited biologic factors. It is now shown that inheritable traits of that sort are probably non-existent. Almost all groups of human beings, no matter what their biological origin or appearance, may be capable of unlimited creativity and development.

Though many books and pamphlets treating of the old and new evidence relevant to this subject appeared since 1911, few even today have found their way into teachers' training-school, junior college, high-school or elementary-school curricula, into the libraries of such institutions, or least of all into many teachers' minds. No notable percentage of Amer-

ica's teaching staffs has yet learned that such scientific knowledge of race is firmly and permanently established.

An outstanding anthropologist, Professor Benedict has now rewritten and summarized not only our science of race. She has told with unexampled elegance and dignity the appalling story of modern race prejudice and race superstitions, which she neatly terms racism.

Her book is on the must list for the reading of every American teacher. It should be placed first on the inventory of immediate book purchases for the library of every school of secondary and higher education. It should be required reading for students in general social science and sociology courses where these are taught in secondary schools. No teacher should be graduated from a school or department of education who has not learned carefully the implications of Dr. Benedict's book. If we make it available to a generation of students and teachers we will have been providing a noble contribution, as teachers, in helping to defeat a still defeatable monster, race prejudice, which at the moment is spreading and on its way to wreck our American democracy.

A very different field of basic scientific research, that of the economics of peoples of primitive technology, has long been overlooked by most anthropologists. Professor Herskovits' study ranks as the most serious attempt so far made at giving a characterization of certain general features of those rapidly crumbling economic systems that differ vastly from ours. Some of the older ghosts about primitive economics, still flitting about in academic circles, are effectively laid. Professor Herskovits' writing does not proceed beyond this much needed type of introductory treatment. He has no doubt felt that description and analysis of the differing systems of specific regional areas, each with its own peculiar economic patterns, is perhaps not lightly to be ventured until more field research has been engaged in among such systems, research which we hope will be greatly stimulated by this pioneer volume.

The appropriate role of the book is to serve in advanced courses on economic theory and anthropology, where its relatively general and theoretic discussions can be illumined by descriptive data supplied by professors and students. It will be seen in such discussions that Dr. Herskovits chose to lump together in his treatment some very different kinds of primitive economy, those found in technologically lowly areas where few or no surpluses are produced and the many kinds of complex economy found in areas where surpluses, elaborate division of labor, markets and state apparatus occur.

To Professor Herskovits goes our congratulations for the service of assembling some of the major problems in a still meagerly explored and extremely difficult arena of scientific research.

MELVILLE JACOBS

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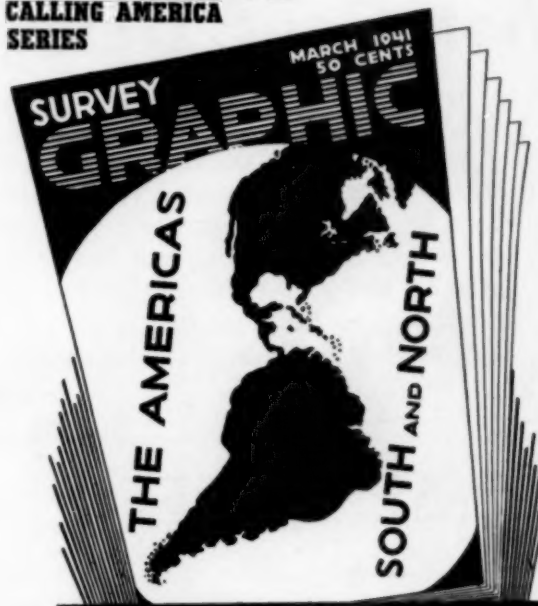
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This 116 page special number of *Survey Graphic* explores the most searching questions confronting the people of the Western Hemisphere today. Half a year has gone into recruiting statesmen, educators, businessmen, discoverers, military experts, scholars and others to give us clues to the answers. Text, graphs, photographs, maps and drawings throw further light on such questions as—

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What Does Democracy Mean To You?

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- 4.** Write to the Organizing Committee for literature to be distributed at your local meetings.

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